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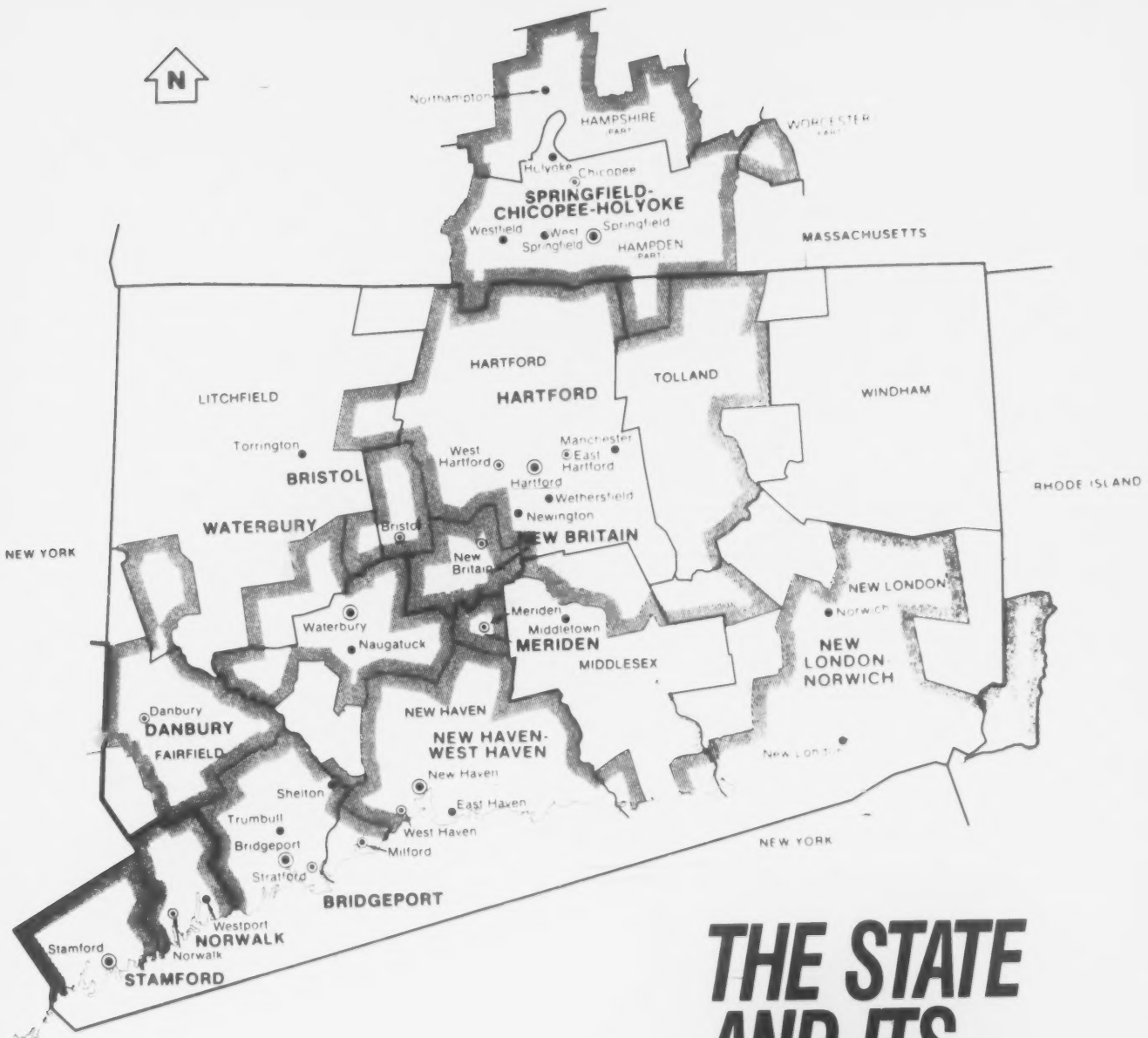
# CONNECTICUT:




## THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

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The report brings together a wide variety of different materials having to do with Connecticut. This integration could not have been accomplished without a computer program called Super-File, which has been a joy to use.

Louise Clarke, Chief Administrative Officer at IEL, has become indispensable for her excellent supervision of the production process. Tony Browder's graphic designs have become a vital part of the publication.

Errors of fact or interpretation, however, remain the responsibility of the author.

Harold L. Hodgkinson
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**COVER NOTE:**

This unusual map of Connecticut shows how the state looks demographically. The thick lines indicate metropolitan areas (where 88 percent of the people live). You can also see how both Massachusetts and New York impinge on Connecticut! (The second largest metro area in Connecticut is Springfield—Chicopee—Holyoke, which is mostly in Massachusetts while New London-Norwich has partially slipped into Rhode Island.) Metropolitan development does not stop at state lines. This "people map" is the social equivalent of mountains, rivers and roads, and is becoming useful to politicians and marketers of products and services and even to educators!

# CONNECTICUT:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

**HAROLD L. HODGKINSON**
Senior Fellow, The Institute for Educational Leadership

# CONNECTICUT: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Connecticut is a model example of the notion that small does *not* mean simple. The state is very wealthy, very well-educated, very old both in history and in average age (a result of very low fertility rates), very urban, very political, very accomplished. From Connecticut has come Mark Twain, who wrote *Huckleberry Finn* there and made sport of the state in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court,* Harriet Beecher Stowe, P.T. Barnum, Benedict Arnold, Samuel Colt, who made the guns that helped to win the Revolutionary War (Connecticut has been big in defense contracts ever since), not to mention Nathan Hale.

In addition to people, there are other Connecticut firsts, including the first hamburger, the first telephone switchboard, and, most important for our discussion, the first American Ph.D. (Yale) and the first public school in 1640. Connecticut has been a state of tinkerers—Eli Whitney worked out his cotton gin there and along with Colt perfected the idea of interchangeable parts. However, social and political innovations are a little harder to locate. The state is possessed of great wealth, especially in the insurance companies in and around Hartford, and Fairfield County, where New York City executives can reside in comfort and where an increasing number of major corporations are locating for similar reasons.

Even though the existing state tax base is clearly regressive, emphasizing sales and property taxes which penalize the poor, additional sources of revenue have not developed. Even Ella Grasso, the first woman Governor to be elected on her own merits, was unable to develop a comprehensive income base to meet the state's needs. The real contradiction in Connecticut is between very open and clean government and inadequate financing for all forms of public activity. (Even after 1918, property ownership was necessary in order to vote in Connecticut.) But as the Yankees gave way to Catholics, and English shared the state with Italians and Jews, a sense of pluralism developed.

The relatively fierce independence of Connecticut's many small towns, the often untillable land (unless you are growing rocks), as well as the Yankee heritage and very strong corporations in both insurance and manufacturing have all contributed to the state's stability and economic conservatism. During the 1960s, urban renewal became a major agenda item in New Haven and Hartford, the latter led by Hartford's corporate leadership. Although the "Greater Hartford Process, Inc." would have to be declared only a modest success in the late sixties, companies have continued their efforts at urban renewal, resulting in Constitution Plaza and the downtown civic center, which, in spite of losing its roof in a snowstorm in the late seventies, has spurred some other major downtown renovation in Hartford.

The state's corporate leadership has been humane, innovative, and interested in urban renewal. John Filer, former CEO of Aetna, clearly stands out as a major figure in the state's agenda for urban redevelopment. The major problem left concerns relocation of the poor, minority and immigrant families who were uprooted during this effort at social betterment. Both Bridgeport and New Haven have engaged in major efforts at renewal, even when their economies were in desperate shape due to the manufacturing transitions that were underway.

As a result, Connecticut today sits proudly at the top of the Department of Commerce figures for per capita income leaders. (On other versions of the same measure, it drops to second.) The leaders are interesting in that the "Sun Belt," that predicted bundle of growth, is entirely missing from the top except for California:

***Per Capita Income Leaders***
***April 1987***

| | |
|---|---|
| *Connecticut* | $19,208 |
| *New Jersey* | $18,284 |
| *Alaska* | $17,744 |
| *Massachusetts* | $17,516 |
| *New York* | $17,118 |
| *California* | $16,588 |
| *New Hampshire* | $15,922 |
| *Illinois* | $15,420 |
| *Virginia* | $15,374 |

The states that comprise the "Sun Belt" are all at or near the bottom of the economic development heap, except California, while the supposedly dead or moribund states of the New England and the Mid-Atlantic areas are leading

the nation. Moral: never underestimate states that have an educated workforce, diversified economies, small geographic size and high densities, strong governors, citizens who vote, and companies that stay because they are making profits.

An additional advantage for Connecticut comes from excellent and current sources of information about the state's problems, such as *The Connecticut Workplace to the Year 2000, The Changing World of Connecticut's Children*, as well as *Meeting the Challenge: Condition of Education in Connecticut, 1986*. It is clear that in terms of information and citizen participation, Connecticut desires to *stay* on top in many areas. Indeed, speaking to the Connecticut Association of Boards of Education is always interesting—passive, dependent people are simply not present at the meeting. Politics are intense, open and very energetic. Commissioner of Education, Gerald Tirozzi, has managed to funnel this localized energy toward state concerns in a surprising number of instances.

Before moving to a discussion of the educational system, let's look first at a general statistical picture of Connecticut:

## CONNECTICUT'S PROFILE*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1980 Population** | **25th** | **3,107,000** | |
| **1987 Population** | ** | **3,200,000** | |
| **1985 Population Density** | **4th** | **651 people per square mile** | |
| **Black Population** | **24th** | **217,000** | **7%** |
| **Hispanic Population** | **13th** | **124,000** | **4%** |
| **Foreign Born** | **8th** | ** | **8.6%** |
| **Born in Another State** | **17th** | ** | **42%** |
| | | **1980** | **1985** |
| **Population Over 65** | **18th** | **11.7%** | **13%** **14th** |
| **Population Under 18** | **46th** | **26.5%** | **23.8%** ** |
| **Birth Rate** | **47th** | **13.4 per 1,000 population in 1984** | |
| **Median Age** | **4th** | **32 years in 1980 34 years in 1986** | |
| **Life Expectancy** | **12th** | **75.12 years** | |
| **Working Women** | **9th** | **53.6%** | |
| **College Graduates** | **3rd** | **20.7%** | |
| **Married Couple Households** | **31st** | **61.1%** | |
| **Owner Occupied Housing** | **40th** | **63.9%** | |
| **Housing Value** | **5th** | **$77,700** | |

*1980 Data Unless Specified
**Data Not Available

This profile shows a small state in terms of geography with a dense population, 88 percent of whom live in the state's 12 metropolitan areas. (Population density of 651 per square mile may seem high, but New Jersey is over 1,000, a figure that ranks with Japan in terms of density.) The notion of Connecticut as a state of small towns has

to join the ranks of major American myths. Growth rates are slow, and much of it is caused by people moving into the state. Certainly the extraordinarily low fertility rates are not adding much to the population. Minority populations are well below the national average at 11 percent, but minority public school enrollments were 22.4 percent in 1986, suggesting that the state's adult minority component will double in the next decade or so. Immigrants, however, will increase at a much slower rate. Although the state has a high percentage of immigrants, these tend to be older persons who came to Connecticut mostly from European nations, not from South America and Asia. This could change as Connecticut appeals to more young immigrants—the Hispanic population in Fairfield County is increasing rapidly.

Connecticut has the fourth oldest population, not because it has so many old folks, but because of its very low number of children. The same reason exists for the other "old" states—Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts—but not Florida, which has lots of older people as well as few young ones. Given that the fastest growing segment of Connecticut's population is people over 85 (up 59 percent from 1970 to 1986), one can easily see that an increasing number of residents are moving beyond the childbearing years. (Even black populations are declining in Connecticut, but because they are declining *less* than whites, blacks still represent an increasing percentage of Connecticut's youth.) That will turn around in the next few years—*American Demographics*, January, 1988, announced that although Connecticut's school-age population (age 5-17) declined by 13.9 percent from 1980-86, the very young (under five) group increased by 13 percent during the same years. School populations have already begun a gradual increase, with Kindergarten through grade five increasing in 1984-85. Although the numbers are not yet available, this very young cohort will be at least 25 percent minority and probably more.

Most Connecticut indicators lead to high income—lots of women in the work place increasing the number of two income households, a *very* large population with college degrees, and a large middle-aged population moving into their peak earning years. However, housing *costs* are so high that a large amount of income is needed to cover housing, leaving less for discretionary purposes. (That is one major reason why the percent of owner-occupied housing is so low in the state and why so few people move to Connecticut even with the high per capita income figures.) Even during periods of economic difficulty, the Connecticut unemployment level was among the lowest in the nation. While many of these measures suggest a state with no major problems, we will soon look at the issues of poverty and equity in Connecticut where there is still much to do.

Given low fertility rates, the major way the state changes is by people moving in and out. This analysis gives us another clue as to why the population is diversifying ethnically:

**CONNECTICUT MIGRATION 1975-1980**

| | ALL | WHITE | BLACK | HISPANIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IN | 325,213 | 281,402 | 21,686 | 27,121 |
| OUT | 345,300 | 317,175 | 19,499 | 10,005 |
| NET | −20,000 | −35,773 | +2,187 | +17,116 |

Here is a simple explanation for increased ethnic diversity—more whites moved out than in, while more Hispanics and blacks moved in than out! The same principle applies to Fairfield County, one of the richest in the nation:

**FAIRFIELD COUNTY MIGRATION 1975-1980**

| | ALL | WHITE | BLACK | HISPANIC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IN | −129,736 | 115,429 | 6,986 | 9,868 |
| OUT | 136,936 | 126,691 | 7,199 | 4,096 |
| NET | −7,200 | −11,262 | −213 | +5,772 |

The combination of declining white populations *and* increasing minorities simply multiplies the trend line. And, because black and Hispanic populations are younger than whites and have a higher percentage of women in the child-bearing years, their fertility rates are higher.

Connecticut's twelve metropolitan areas have not seen the explosive suburban growth that has sucked jobs, homes and education away from core cities and to the suburbs. (Remember that the *second* largest metro area in Connecticut is Springfield—Chicopee—Holyoke! Metropolitan development does not stop neatly at state lines—the second largest metro area in Illinois is now St. Louis, while 20 percent of Cincinnati is in Kentucky. Even New London-Norwich is moving into Rhode Island.) Only Danbury, with a 32 percent suburban growth rate during 1970-1980 fit the national picture, and even there, suburban growth did not come *at the expense* of the core, which also grew at 16 percent. It may be that here is a good reason why the revitalization of Connecticut's cities has gone reasonably well—most of the city was still there. Compared to Detroit, Pittsburgh and even Baltimore, all of which lost jobs, homes, incomes and education to the suburbs, Connecticut's cities were much better off. The biggest danger for Connecticut's future growth may be increased intrusion from New York and Massachusetts, and some steps may be needed to deal with that problem.

Another clue to Connecticut's strategic success comes from the Connecticut business and workforce analysis. In the following table, the first column gives the percentage of the workforce in that area, the second compares the workforce distribution to the nation, the average being 100:

## CONNECTICUT BUSINESSES AND WORKERS

| | Percent | Index |
|---|---|---|
| AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, MINING, FISHING | 1.1 | 28 |
| CONSTRUCTION | 4.3 | 73 |
| MANUFACTURING | 31.0 | 138 |
| TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS | 5.6 | 77 |
| RETAIL, WHOLESALE TRADE | 18.2 | 89 |
| FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE | 8.0 | 133 |
| BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE | 7.4 | 88 |
| PROFESSIONAL SERVICES | 20.6 | 101 |
| PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 3.9 | 74 |

There are some excellent and some worrisome things in this profile, one worry being the low index on construction, one of the best indicators of future economic growth. The same is true for transportation and retail trades. The low agriculture index is actually favorable, given the problems in that industry. However, manufacturing is very high, an area in which some additional painful "downsizing" is probably still in the cards. The jewel in the crown is clearly the splendid score on the high end of the service economy—finance, insurance and real estate. But the state could clearly use some diversification, particularly in small business starts in services, construction and transportation. If Connecticut could "tinker" with new services as well as it has with manufacturing, the state's future would be assured!

Although this profile looks decidedly optimistic, another point needs to be made—in Connecticut, as in other states, the low end of the service economy is alive and growing. Although Connecticut is very high in engineers and finance managers, it is *also* very high in service jobs that do not pay well:

### WHO DOES WHAT IN CONNECTICUT? (Total 1980 Workforce—1,482,300)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance managers | 9,000 |
| Accountants, auditors | 17,600 |
| Underwriters | 1,100 |
| Engineers, total | 31,800 |
| Assemblers | 27,500 |
| Physicians | 7,500 |
| Actuaries | 900 |
| Lawyers | 8,300 |
| Computer programmers | 6,600 |
| Secretaries | 63,200 |
| Fast food | 59,100 |
| Janitors | 33,300 |

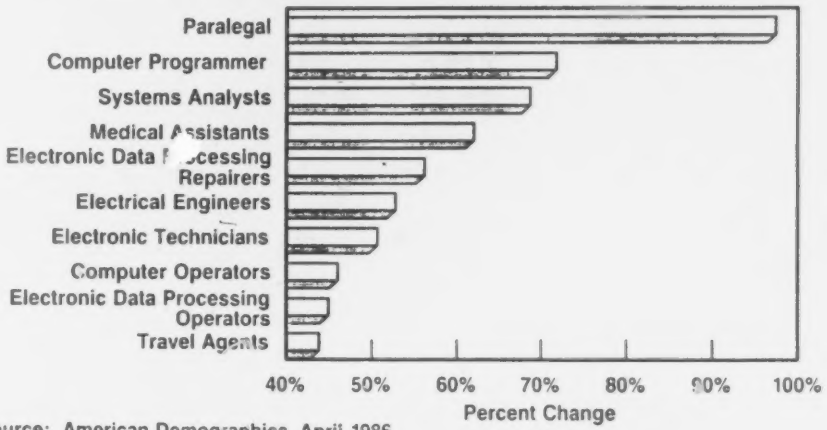
**Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1986–87

If one looks at the *new* jobs coming on stream, the jobs that will change the nature of the economy, there will be

fourteen new jobs for cashiers for every *one* job for a computer programmer, both in the nation and in Connecticut. We in education have long, intense discussions about the educational needs of future programmers, but seldom do we discuss the future educational needs of janitors, maids and cashiers, three job categories with very high rates of growth, and numbers of jobs. It is vital to understand the difference between the job categories with the highest *percentage of job growth* and the areas with the *largest number of new jobs*:

## FASTEST GROWING JOBS IN TECHNICAL AREAS

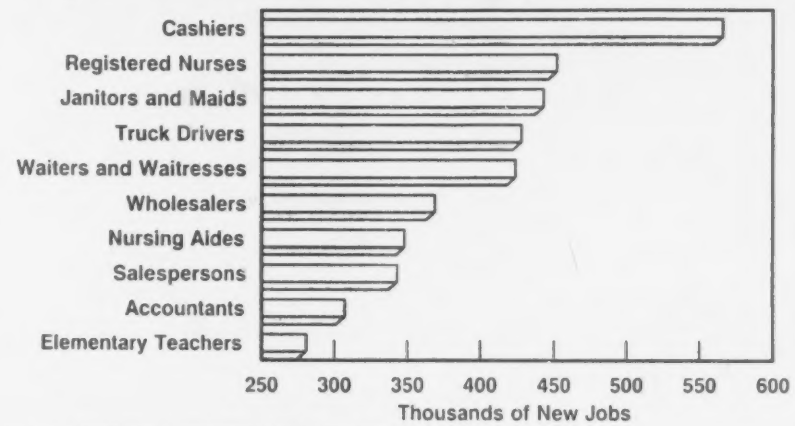
### (Fastest Relative Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

## MOST NEW JOBS IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

### (Fastest Absolute Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

One final comment about jobs and Connecticut has to do with the new entrants into the Connecticut workforce. According to the (excellent) report, *The Connecticut Workplace to the Year 2000*, six of every ten net additions to the Connecticut labor force will be women, four out of ten will be minority group members. (Nationally, eight of ten new workers will be some combination of women, minority or immigrant.) Every year, Connecticut will add about 82,000 jobs. Of these, 25,000 will be in the two categories of "clerical" and "services," jobs which do not require much education or training. Normally, the workers at the low end of the service economy—janitors, clerks, maids, guards, cashiers—have been from poor and minority backgrounds.

If these 25,000 jobs each year continue to go to people who are disadvantaged, and no promotional structure is built into the low end of the service economy, then Connecticut will be *more* segregated by the year 2000, not less. Remember that in the U.S. in 1986, 3.5 million people worked full time, yet were eligible for federal poverty programs. The evidence is clear that the "middle" of the workforce is declining in numbers. Even though Connecticut is currently on top in per capita income, it may not continue, as the Connecticut population ages, demands for health and other services for the elderly increase, and the tax base comes from an increasing number of minimum wage jobs.

A couple of other areas need to be mentioned before we deal with the educational system. First, the state has a low rate of murder and rape for a densely populated state:

**Connecticut Crime Rates per 100,000 Population**

| *Murder:* 36th | *Rape:* 40th | *Robbery:* 11th |
|---|---|---|
| 4.7 | 21.6 | 218 |

Robbery rates are strongly related to per capita income levels, and almost anyone in Connecticut is worth robbing! One of the most important issues for Connecticut's future is the increasing amount of public funds that will be spent on jails—the number of inmates will grow by *one third* in Connecticut by 2000. With increased needs for education and programs for senior citizens, Connecticut could, with its unwillingness to develop new state income sources, be in serious financial trouble.

Although the divorce rate in Connecticut is low by national standards, there are still 444 divorces for every 1,000 marriages in the state. The state ranks 14th in abortions—there are 385 abortions for every 1,000 births in the state. (If that sounds high, consider New York State, with *666* abortions for every 1,000 births!) The demographic consequences of abortion are as vital as the ethical issues, but it's hard to keep them separate. Connecticut is one of ten states that did not report babies born out of wedlock for the 1980 Census. But in the very well done report, *The Changing World of Connecticut's Children*, we learn that in 1985, 9,353 babies were born out of wedlock in the state, about 20 percent of all births. Included are about one in every six white babies and almost three of every five non-white children. In a state with a declining percentage of its citizens who are young, these numbers are serious—in Connecticut, almost every kid has to succeed, as there are so few of them! As Commissioner Tirozzi has put it, "Equity begins at birth; it does not start at age five when a child enters kindergarten. Neither does learning end at age eighteen." (*The Changing World of Connecticut's Children*, p. 26).

These trends overlap in many ways. One of the reasons for Connecticut's very high per capita income is the number of women in the workforce outside the home. About 56 percent of women with children under 18 are in the Connecticut workforce. The figure will probably increase, putting even more pressure on Connecticut's resources for high quality daycare. In *The Changing World*, we learn that in 1986 there were about 57,000 spaces in child care centers and *185,000* school-age kids needing such care. In addition, 93,000 pre-school children in Connecticut were in need of daycare. From 1970 to 1980, even with major efforts at urban redevelopment, Connecticut's largest cities (Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport) got poorer. It is easy in a state with such high income levels to overlook those who have not shared in economic well-being, particularly the poor who are disproportionately female and minority—and *kids*. (In the U.S., ten percent of the poor are elderly while forty percent of the poor are children.) Although poverty is not a lifelong condition for all (white families can bounce in and out of poverty frequently, while minorities tend to stay in longer), the effects of long-term poverty on children is striking. Given the small number of people who migrate to Connecticut, the state's work force in the year 2000 *will* be made up of today's Connecticut youth, too many of whom are at risk of not fulfilling their potential.

We have taken this rather circuitous route to education because the system can be no better than its context. Between now and 2000, Connecticut will build far more jails than schools. Each prisoner costs the state more than $20,000 a year—enough to provide a Head Start-type program for *10* kids! Consider the fact that 80 percent of all jail cells are occupied by high school dropouts, and we may have completed the circle. Investing in the educational system *pays off*, particularly the focus on early childhood levels. Connecticut education programs are, above all else, the product of Connecticut.

## CONNECTICUT'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The recent history of Connecticut's public schools has been one of decline in enrolled students as well as a major change in ethnic composition. From a peak around 1970, Connecticut school enrollments have declined at twice the national rate:

## SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS: U.S. AND CONNECTICUT, 1970 vs. 1982

| | 1970 | 1982 | Net |
|---|---|---|---|
| *U.S. Total Enrollment* | 45,909,000 | 39,643,000 | −13.6% |
| *Connecticut Total Enrollment* | 662,000 | 486,000 | −26% |
| *U.S. Grades 9-12* | 13,332,000 | 12,501,000 | −6.2% |
| *Connecticut Grades 9-12* | 175,000 | 150,000 | −26% |
| *U.S. Grades K-8* | 32,577,000 | 27,143,000 | −16.7% |
| *Connecticut Grades K-8* | 487,000 | 336,000 | −31% |

By 1985, U.S. school enrollments were increasing in elementary grades, while still declining in high school enrollments. (Some superintendents are laying off high school teachers and hiring elementary school staff at the same time.) Connecticut, on the other hand, continued to decline in both levels, but the decline has slowed, and increased birth rates in Connecticut at present have led to increases in school enrollments continuing into the 1990s, followed by a long decline as the year 2000 approaches. About half of Connecticut's teachers will have retired by the year 2000, but it is too early to forecast large teacher shortages.

A significant shift in ethnic background has taken place. Minority enrollments in Connecticut have increased from 15.1 percent in 1976 to 21.7 percent in 1985 and 22.4% in 1986. Certainly compared to Los Angeles this is not a major jump, but for stable Connecticut it is. Although black enrollments in Connecticut had declined until 1985, they are now increasing slightly, while white decline continues, meaning that a higher *percentage* of students is now black. Hispanic and Asian enrollments have increased in number, allowing their percentages to increase rapidly as white enrollments decline rapidly and blacks slowly.

The most accurate way to think of these factors is steadily declining white enrollments with relatively stable minority numbers but small increases in Hispanics. These trends move into schools from the bottom—minorities represent one in four kindergarten students and one of seven twelfth graders. Higher minority dropout figures also mean fewer minority students in the upper grades. In Connecticut, as in the U.S., minority students are concentrated in urban areas. In 1986, 74.8 percent of all students in Connecticut's five largest cities were minorities. (Indeed, many other metro areas have done much better than Hartford—New Haven in terms of the percentage of black households in the suburban areas, as well as the number of minority small business starts, both good indicators of increased *middle class* minority populations.)

Nonpublic school enrollments in Connecticut have remained virtually stable at 81,000 (about 14 percent of all students), for a decade or more, with a decline to 73,284 or 13.4 percent in 1986. These students attend almost 200 Catholic schools, 60 with another religious affilitiation, and about 80 schools without religious affiliation. Information on ethnic characteristics of independent school students was not available to the author. It is likely that independent enrollments will increase very slightly as a percent of the state's total, not because of increased numbers, but because of the continued decrease of public school enrollments for the next few years.

It is clear from these numbers that some things have changed in Connecticut. On both per pupil expenditure and teacher salaries, Connecticut increased its advantage over other states, although questions remain. One is the equitable distribution of funds *within* the state to ensure that every Connecticut child has an equitable chance at a good education. (Per capita wealth ranged from $36,250 in New Canaan to $8,677 in Hartford in 1987—an amazing income spread.) Another is that increases in teacher salaries (in current dollars) do not represent increases in purchasing power. Although there can be few complaints about Connecticut's per student funding, the resources are so great that one could suggest a greater level of *state* effort to assure greater equity in funding, particularly in Connecticut's five largest cities. Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport are all on the list of the top 20 cities in the U.S. with the highest percent of children living in poverty.

In terms of funding responsibility, Connecticut has followed the national trend of increased state and reduced local funding. It seems inevitable that when states provide more of the money, the legislature and governor will eventually want more of the decision authority that goes with it. The golden rule explains it—he who has the gold makes the rules. In Connecticut, with active local control and energetic school boards, this could produce conflicts in the near future. State funding of schools almost doubled from 1973–1985, while local funding fell from three quarters to one half. It would be hard to fault the general ideas and priorities in the bill passed by the legislature in June of 1986, known as An Act Concerning Educational Enhancement, which will provide about 300 million dollars over three years by focusing on the salary needs of teachers, improving certification systems and helping small towns and some cities. It *does*, however, provide less than adequate emphasis on Connecticut's cities where the educational issues seem to need the most state assistance.

## CONNECTICUT AND U.S. SCHOOL INDICATORS

| | Connecticut | U.S. |
|---|---|---|
| *Per-pupil expenditures, 1973-74* | $1,413 | $1,147 |
| *Per-pupil expenditures, 1985-86* | $4,888 | $3,677 |
| *Average teacher salary, 1973-74* | $11,805 | $11,690 |
| *Average teacher salary, 1985-86* | $26,610 | $25,257 |
| *Funding percentage, 1973-74* | | |
| *Federal* | 2.9% | 8.2% |
| *State* | 23.8% | 42.6% |
| *Local* | 73.3% | 49.2% |
| *Funding percentage, 1985-86* | | |
| *Federal* | 4.9% | 6.4% |
| *State* | 40.5% | 50.1% |
| *Local* | 54.5% | 43.5% |
| *Per capita income, 1984* | $16,556 | $12,789 |
| *Children 5-17 in poverty, 1980* | 10.4% | 15.3% |
| *Pupil/teacher ratios, 1982* | 15/1 | 18.9/1 |
| *Pupil/teacher ratios, 1985* | 14.4/1 | 18.3/1 |
| *Percent handicapped, 1987* | 13.8% | 11.0% |
| *Percent gifted, 1984* | 2.4% | 3.2% |
| *Percent bilingual, 1984* | 5.5% | 2.9% |
| *Percent minority, 1987* | 23% | 30% |

This act, plus the the competency test for teachers known as CONNCEPT, put in place in 1985, indicate a real interest in upgrading the teaching force. In addition, the subject matter exams, known as CONNTENT, will be phased into 25 subject areas by 1990, while BEST (Beginning Education Support and Training Program) will provide essential support for beginning teachers. However, urban educational issues in the state, particularly youth poverty, remain unanswered at present.

Connecticut's very favorable student-teacher ratio of 14.4 to 1 in 1985 compares favorably to California's twenty-three students to one teacher! Only Wyoming, at 12.6 has smaller classes than Connecticut. However, other states with enrollment declines have also reduced student–teacher ratios simply by keeping teachers on the payroll even with a smaller number of students to teach. A real problem here is the increasing minority student population without a proportionate increase in minority faculty. However,

Connecticut is doing better in this regard than the nation in one sense—in 1986, minority professional staff actually increased slightly in Connecticut, up by 96 for a total of 2,260 or 6 percent of the 37,627 full-time professional staff members. (Nationally, the minority professional staff in public schools dropped from 12 to 9 percent, with a National Education Association prediction of below 6 percent in the next few years, due largely to a decline in the numbers of minority teacher education students in colleges.)

The figures on handicapped students indicate that Connecticut does a good job of identifying and diagnosing their special needs and providing appropriate instruction. Connecticut's work with the handicapped student has been excellent in these dimensions—how much they are learning is another question for which the data are not very clear. Similarly, the 2.4 percent gifted category does not mean that 2.4 percent of all Connecticut students are gifted, rather that 2.4 percent are enrolled in special classes and programs. It is interesting to observe that the bilingual percentage in Connecticut is almost twice the national average, due perhaps to the state mandate for bilingual programs in any school in which 20 or more students speak a particular language other than English.

Although the minority student percentage is below the national average, there are reasons for believing that in Connecticut, minority students and their families are more tightly bound to the central cities of the state, with very limited mobility to Connecticut's affluent suburbs. Given the inevitability of increased minority student populations, particularly Hispanic and Asian with steady numbers of black students, Connecticut's economic and social well-being will increasingly depend upon the ability of Connecticut's minorities to do well in school and college, and later in the workplace. Like most others, Connecticut's educational system has been used to *pick* winners rather than to *create* winners. The demography in Connecticut makes clear that in this state particularly, no young person can be *allowed* to fail.

Two additional factors present themselves in the form of (a) a rapidly increasing population of people over 65 and (b) an increase in jail populations in Connecticut, from 4,308 in 1980 to 6,149 in 1985. Both of these groups require very expensive services. In Connecticut $123 million is used annually to provide for prisoners in jails, money that could have built college dormitories or provided Head Start-type programs for the state's poor children.

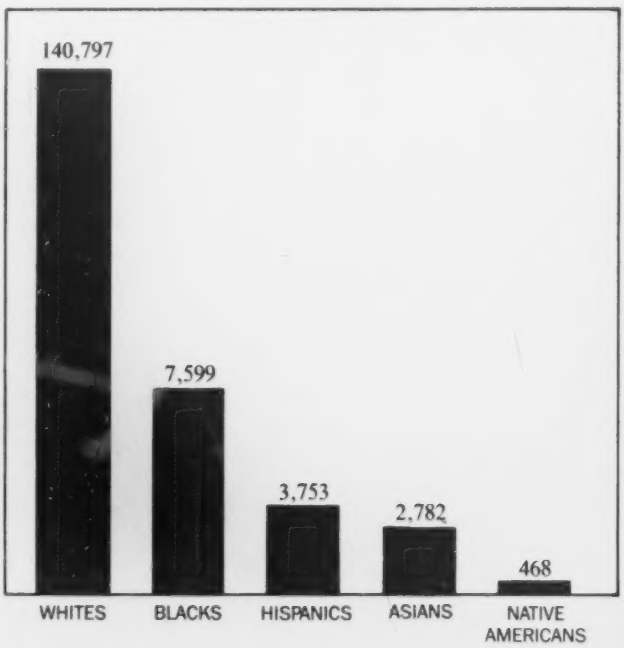
We have moved from having eight children to each older person in 1900 to about 2.5 children per older person today. The political dynamics will favor funding for the elderly and prisoner populations unless some major efforts are made to show the economic and social costs of *not* supporting education. (Head Start programs look expensive until you look at the costs associated with not having them.) Support of public schools needs to be seen as a *civic* responsibility in Connecticut, not just a parental responsibility.

## *HIGHER EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT*

As of 1986-87, Connecticut had 49 institutions of higher education, 24 public and 25 private. Included are two universities, one public and one private; 26 four-year institutions, 6 public and 20 private; and 21 two-year institutions, 17 public and 4 private. As of Fall, 1986, they enrolled a total of 159,071 students of whom 140,797 were white and 14,540 (9.1 percent) were minority. Included were 7,599 black students, 3,753 Hispanics, 2,782 Asians and 468 Native Americans. (The U.S. Department of Education also recorded 4,021 foreign students studying in the state.) 9.1 percent minority is below the national average of 17.4 percent minority college students, but is about average for the Northeast and represents a commendable *increase* over the 8.3 percent in 1984. But remember that 22 percent of Connecticut's public school students are minority!

From 1982 to 1984, current-fund expenditures for higher education in Connecticut moved upward by 11.4 percent, from $1,076,378,000 to $1,199,463,000, one of the highest increase rates in the nation. (The public institutional base grew 14.9 percent while private institutions grew 9.2 percent.) Tuition and fees for public institutions averaged $3,376 in 1984-85, about the national average, while Connecticut's private institutional tuition and fees averaged $10,769, second only to Massachusetts. However, four institutions that draw nationally—Connecticut College, Trinity, Wesleyan and Yale—push up the average. Connecticut's faculty earned an average of $36,464 in 1985-86, behind only Alaska ($42,696), California ($39,002) and

**CONNECTICUT HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT, 1986**



Massachusetts ($36,582). Interestingly, Connecticut's public and private faculties showed only a few dollars difference in salary. The *Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1987* lists Connecticut as 8th in public higher education appropriations per F.T.E. student for 1986.

Given the very high level of participation in the SAT test (28,302 Connecticut students took the SAT in 1985, the highest participation rate in the nation, with above-average verbal and average math results), the state is clearly trying to develop a comprehensive education program, kindergarten through graduate school. In addition, almost half the students in Connecticut higher education, both public and private, are attending part-time, which usually means older students with jobs and families to juggle. Connecticut seems to be meeting their educational needs as well as the "conventional" student who is 18-22, in residence in college housing and full-time, a student type now clearly in the *minority* in higher education in the U.S.

However, there are some puzzles here. Most interesting is the high percentage of Connecticut high school graduates who leave the state to go to college—about 28 percent in 1981, down from 32 percent in 1975 but up to 34 percent of *all* 1986 Connecticut high school graduates. The "net" issue is clear—about 20,000 Connecticut students leave the state for college, while about 10,000 students who live in other states come to Connecticut for college, for a "net" loss of about 10,000 students. (The question of whether or not the students who leave Connecticut are any brighter than those who stay cannot be answered with present information.) Why do so many leave? Given the good balance of public and private colleges and universities in the state, as well as the good selection of degrees and programs, it cannot be that the education one wants cannot be found in Connecticut. There are several hypotheses, and the reader may have many more:

**A.** Connecticut higher education may be overpriced—one can get the same quality and variety in other states for less. Compared with Massachusetts and New York, Connecticut does not provide the same level of state-based loans and grants for students. Bright but poor students can "do better" in another state. (However, state aid is generally available only to residents of that state. This hypothesis seems unlikely.)

**B.** The *perceived* quality of Connecticut institutions may be low. Although Wesleyan and Yale are clearly "big league" schools, the University of Connecticut is seldom mentioned in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and the University of Hartford, although doing some very fascinating things, is perceived as a local institution without much larger significance. The state has quality control mechanisms in place, but *perceived* quality is not currently known.

**C.** The states with the highest rate of out-of-state college going are the New England and Mid-Atlantic states, especially Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Delaware, Vermont and Connecticut. These are all rather small states geographically, and if one of the functions of "going away to college" is to get away from home, it is difficult to do in New Jersey or Connecticut, as mom and dad are within a three-hour drive of any campus in the state! Indeed, in a 1984 survey of Connecticut high school seniors, 21 percent said that "getting away from home" was a major factor in their choice of an out-of-state college. Cost was a negligible factor in their choice. Option C seems the most likely factor.

In summary, the higher education system in Connecticut seems to be meeting the needs of Connecticut's citizens for postsecondary educational services. Some encouraging recent developments suggest increasing articulation and collaboration across the educational segments in Connecticut, especially the Common Core of Learning, improving transfer programs and teacher education, and the joint involvement of public and independent institutions in strategic planning. Promising starts have been made on cooperation between business, public schools and higher education, as well as the minority advancement program. What is *unclear* is how higher education will deal with the major demographic changes now moving through Connecticut—the large increase in older citizens, the major increase in minority youth, especially in Connecticut's cities, plus the continuing decline in the number (as well as percent) of white public school students.

# GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Connecticut is very small, very dense, very old (average age of residents), very urban. very well-educated and very wealthy. The state has great social concern, very open politics, and a need to develop new revenue sources which would pay for social services. People leaving the state are mostly retirees seeking a lower cost of living, leaving the state even fuller of middle-year, two income families moving into their peak earning years. About 11 percent of the state's population is minority and about 25 percent of Connecticut's kindergarten population is. Because of a continuing decline in white populations, Connecticut's future will be increasingly minority. If one looks at the new entrants into the Connecticut workforce from now to the year 2000, six out of ten entrants will be women and four out of ten entrants will be minority. The state's autonomy is usually being hassled from Massachusetts on one end and New York on the other. One of the most inaccurate stereotypes about Connecticut is "the small town state" when 88 percent of its people live in 12 metropolitan areas.

Urban problems have been a major concern of Connecticut's business leaders over the years, and because the cities have not been drained of jobs and middle-income housing, it seems that Connecticut's cities can be developed further. The largest unanswered question for Connecticut involves low income residents. Although the Connecticut economy has a splendid high end and middle, there are thousands of jobs in Connecticut—cashiers, janitors, hotel maids and fast food workers for starters—who do essential work but are paid very little. Given the very high housing costs in the state, and the fact that existing tax structures are regressive and affect the working poor very severely, there is an issue of social and economic equity for the state to face.

The educational system needs to be viewed in this context, as does the state effort through government and business leaders. Here are some ways of focussing these issues that may be helpful to the state's considerable abilities and skills:

1. Connecticut's concern for education has simply been assumed as a given. Today, with fewer adults who have children in the schools, and given that the fastest growing segment of the state's population is people over 85, the state will have to be more active in making support of education a *civic* responsibility, not just a parental responsibility. Connecticut is not currently a leader in developing innovative programs that benefit its elderly citizens, but it will need to become one. In this regard, the relation of young and old, as accomplished in the educational programs of Fairfax County, Virginia, could provide some leads. (In Fairfax, many programs for seniors are run in the schools, and good use of senior talent is made in volunteer school programs, bringing closer contact between young and old.)
2. Major attention needs to be given to education in Connecticut's cities, particularly for the youngest citizens. Daycare services for working mothers is an important *educational* issue in the state, as is performance of city school children in the first years of school. The major factor here is poverty. (Prince George's County in Maryland has shown rather conclusively that middle-class minority children can perform academically at the same level as middle-class white kids. The issue is more class than race.) For the richest state in the nation in terms of per capita income, having one-fifth of its children born out-of-wedlock, and ten percent of its youth below the poverty line is unacceptable—because of the small number of kids in Connecticut, *every one* of them needs to succeed.
3. A related issue is the development of minority middle classes in Connecticut. Small business starts are an important part of Connecticut's future (more new jobs are created by small business than by Fortune 500 companies), and the state needs to work on minority-owned and operated small businesses. In addition, effective recruiting of minority citizens into state government has worked very effectively in Ohio, where the black middle class in Columbus is one of the largest in the country, much of it in state government positions. Connecticut has not been particularly successful in encouraging minorities to move to the suburbs, although the Fairfield data suggests that some change is happening. There is a focus here which could involve the state's community colleges, the Universities of Connecticut and Hartford, the public schools and business and government leaders.
4. The state does not have a youth policy, and it needs one. That would help Connecticut's public and private schools and colleges work together in a more coordinated way than is now the case. Connecticut is already planning to build more jails, which is a youth policy of sorts. (Remember that a prisoner costs about $20,000 a year to maintain, and that eighty percent of prisoners are high school drop-

outs.) It is time for this enlightened state to develop new revenue sources which are as nonregressive as possible. One benefit of such a venture would be more state scholarship dollars so that more of Connecticut's brightest high school graduates would decide to attend college in their home state.

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# CONNECTICUT—SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. Connecticut is a small, very densely populated state, first in per capita income, in part because of the high percentage of women who work outside the home, causing a major need for daycare services.
2. Connecticut sees itself as a small town state, even though 88 percent of its people live in the state's twelve metropolitan areas. Partly as a result, the three largest cities—Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport—do not get the concentrated attention and assistance they need. Corporate leadership has been very important in focusing on urban development in the state.
3. Connecticut's population is the fourth oldest, mainly because of its very small number of children. The fastest growing part of the population, however, is people over 85, which will force more trade-offs between programs for youth and those for senior citizens in the future, unless some action is taken now.
4. The state's very diverse economy allows it to ride through recessions very easily. However, the workers who are added to the workforce are sixty percent female and forty percent minority, and those percentages will increase in the future. Housing costs are so high that some of the advantages of high income levels are taken away. (That is one of the major reasons why people are not moving to Connecticut in droves to take advantage of the high levels of per capita income.)
5. The state's youth population has declined sharply for a decade, but a turn around has already begun in the early elementary grades. However, the increase in kids will be heavily minority youth, and is likely to be in Connecticut's cities rather than in suburbs or towns. Connecticut needs to keep a sharp eye out for increasing poverty among its youth, a very likely development.
6. Connecticut has a diverse and flexible educational system, from kindergarten through graduate school, but it is not articulated or coordinated in particularly effective ways. Some recent activity like *Fairfield 2000* may point the way in collaboration between schools, colleges, business and government. The state's wonderful tradition in technical innovation has never been matched with achievements in *social* innovation. Given the state's great wealth, small size, highly educated citizens, traditions of open and honest government, as well as business leadership and support, it may be time for Connecticut to assume more of a national role as it increases its efforts to solve the state's problems in a creative way that might be a model for other states. This cannot happen without adequate state funding for the solution of Connecticut's problems.

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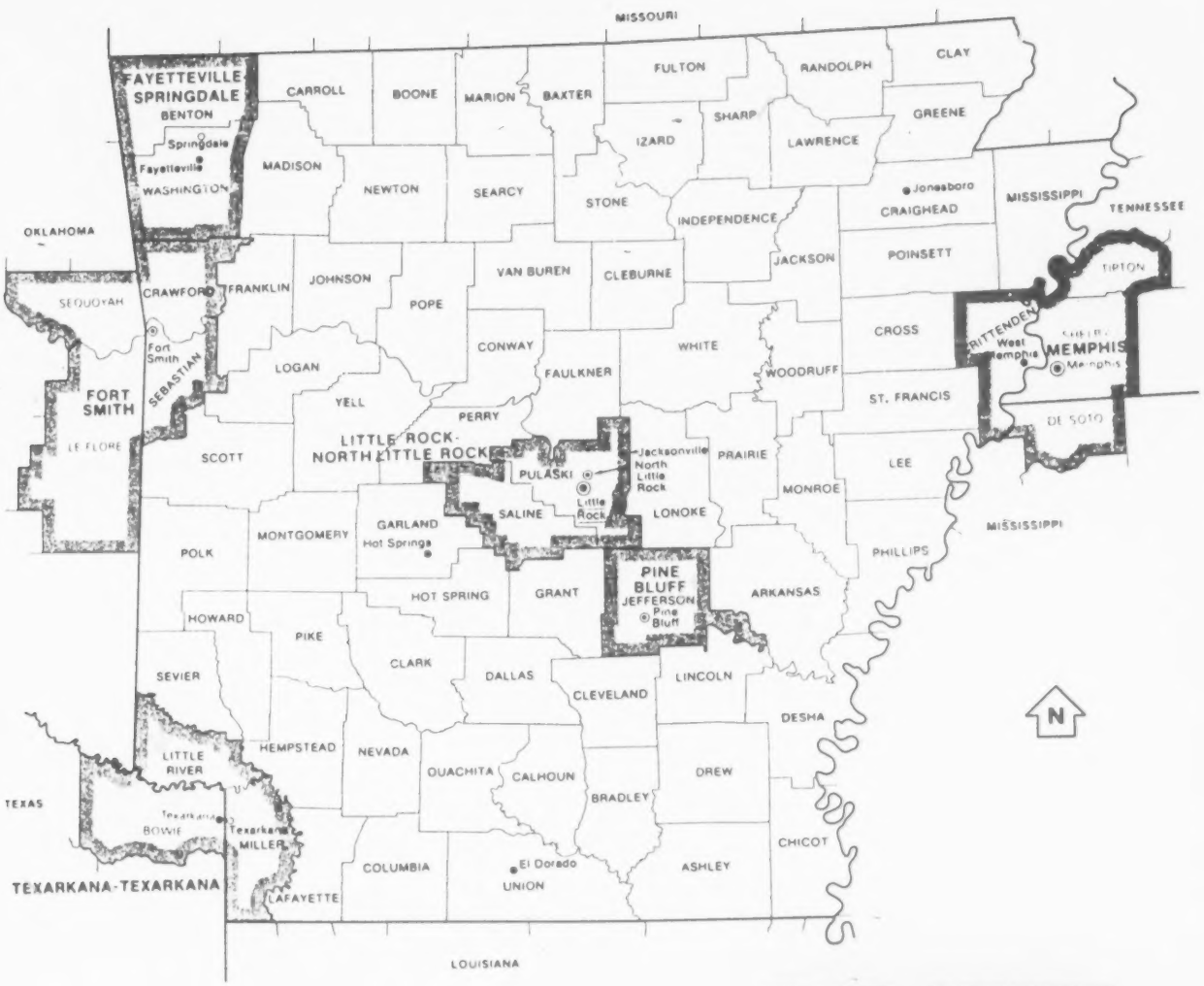
# ARKANSAS:




# THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC

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Gratitude should be expressed to the many people who invested time and energy in reading drafts of this report. Wendy Margolis of the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation and Gloria Cabe of the Governor's Office were particularly helpful, as was Dr. Ruth Steele, Director, Arkansas Department of Education, who shared the report with a number of her staff. In addition, Bill Gaddy, Office of Administration, Kenny Whitehead, Department of Human Services, Joycelyn Elders, M.D., Arkansas Department of Health, and Paul Marion, Department of Higher Education all contributed their comments on the draft.

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This having been said, it should be clear that numbers have various sources and interpretations. The selection of data and interpretation is the sole responsibility of the author.

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**COVER NOTE:**

One gets a big surprise just from a first look at the "people map" on the front cover—The largest metropolitan area in Arkansas is Memphis! (A city that today is shared among Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi). Arkansas' six metro areas contain only 39 percent of its people. In addition to Memphis, Fort Smith is shared with Oklahoma, and Texarkana with Texas. Eventually, state and local governments will have to take account of these demographic realities. Demographic maps like this one are increasingly used by planners, marketers of goods and services, politicians and even educators!

# ARKANSAS:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

**HAROLD L. HODGKINSON**
Director
Center for Demographic Policy
Institute for Educational Leadership

# ARKANSAS: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

One look at the cover map of Arkansas will show some surprises—the largest metropolitan area in Arkansas is *Memphis*! (Much of Crittenden County in Arkansas is in the Memphis metro area.) It would be simpler if cities just stopped growing when they came to a state line, but we're not so lucky. Over half of the Fort Smith metro area (one of the 25 poorest metros of 400 in the U.S.) is in Oklahoma, and about the same is true for Texarkana, bulging into Texas. The situation is hardly unique to Arkansas, in that St. Louis is now the second largest metro in Illinois, and of the seven metro areas in Kentucky, *five* are shared with another state. States like Arkansas and Kentucky have to pay a lot of attention to what their neighboring states are up to, in that they share cities.

The state has several geographic regions—the hill country (very white) and the low land of the Mississippi Delta (very black). Poverty can be found in either place. (There are also the coastal plain and Arkansas River Valley areas.) In addition, Arkansas has a complex history. First would have to be the Orval Faubus Arkansas, Little Rock's Central High, the National Guard and school segregation. Second, the Arkansas of Winthrop Rockefeller, certainly an improbable person to govern this state, but one who brought jobs and cultural opportunities to a population that had not had an abundance of either one. Third is the Bill Clinton Arkansas, a heavy education reform agenda linking education and the state's economic future. It is ironical, yet positive, that Little Rock's Central High ". . . became a symbol, first for racial bigotry in 1957, but by 1987 for racial progress and academic excellence." (Robert L. Brown, *The Second Crisis of Little Rock,* 1988).

One characteristic of Arkansas politics is the tendency for major players to throw *one* bone to the state's past. Thus, J.W. Fulbright was able to pass some remarkable legislation in the Foreign Relations Committee, while voting against almost every civil rights matter. Senator John McClellan in Appropriations and Representative Wilbur Mills in Ways and Means were also extremely powerful in Washington, yet managed to retain a pleasing image to the folks at home. (Even Governor Clinton, a remarkably astute and almost radical educational thinker, must be careful about not threatening fundamentalist supporters too much.) In many ways, the state has had better and more visible political leadership than many other states, both in the Governor's chair and in Washington.

However, today Arkansas is still behind the pack in most dimensions, and will have a tough time reaching the national average on most measures relating to quality of life. New initiatives have not yet changed most of the state's economic numbers, and school reform, while well along, will take some years to prove out. Both Arkansas and South Carolina, having accomplished major educational reform, will have to ask the voters to wait awhile before passing judgment—a tricky political maneuver when most politicians are running for re-election almost constantly—while the national mood seems to favor no tax increases but major improvements in public services like education.

Let's now try to paint a statistical profile of Arkansas that will help to define the educational, social and economic terrain with the chart of page 2.

Behind these numbers are some very important generalizations. Arkansas has a small population, of whom a very small percentage are "city folk." Rural problems are very real, including teenage marriages and children born outside of marriage, plus high infant mortality. The black population, although not large comparatively, is a fairly large *percentage* of the state's total due to the small number of people in the state. The black population is growing, but slowly. Given the *very* high percentage of older citizens in the state, and a slightly high number of children, what is lacking is a large number of people in their mid-thirties moving into their peak earning years! People needing services are high, people *paying for* these services through taxes are low.

Both the Social Security and Food Stamp Programs suggest a state with more program needs than income. Low levels of personal income lead to low tax revenue, a vicious circle. Fortunately, crime rates are fairly low, but Arkansas does not have the revenue base to provide for this very expensive servicing of prisoners. Being second in teenage births and 11th in infant mortality also suggests lots of high cost services. One bright spot is the state's ability to hang onto its manufacturing sector jobs, even increase them a trifle, when in the region, most states were losing 10 to 22 percent of their manufacturing jobs. One of the most depressing things about Arkansas is the

## *ARKANSAS PROFILE**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Population, 1980** | **2,286,435** | **33rd largest state** |
| **Population, 1987** | **2,388,000** | **still 33rd** |
| **Population Growth, 1980-87** | **4.5%** | **27th** |
| **Black Population, 1980** | **373,768** | **9th—16.3%** |
| **Black Population, 1988** | **384,000** | **11th—16%** |
| **People per square mile** | **46.0** | **35th** |
| **People under 18** | **27.2%** | **17th** |
| **People over 65** | **14.5%** | **5th** |
| **Metro Residents** | **39.3%** | **41st** |
| **Births to Teenage Mothers, 1985** | **19.2%** | **2nd** |
| **Infant Mortality, (per 1000 live births), 1985** | **11.6** | **11th** |
| **Abortions (per 1,000 females), 1985** | **10.1** | **41st** |
| **Divorce Rate, 1980** | **864 per 1,000 marriages** | **1st**** |
| **Crimes per 100,000, 1986** | **3,925** | **39th** |
| **State and Local Per Capita Tax Expenditure, 1985** | **$1,695** | **50th** |
| **Personal Income per Capita, 1986** | **$11,073** | **47th** |
| **Social Security Recipients per 1,000 people, 1986** | **189** | **2nd** |
| **Food Stamp Recipients per 1,000 people, 1986** | **97.4** | **10th** |
| **Unemployment Rate, 1986** | **8.7%** | **11th** |
| **Unemployment Rate, 1988** | **7.8%** | |
| **Manufacturing Jobs, 1980-86** | **+1.4%** | **12th in growth rate** |
| **Adults who are college graduates, 1980** | **10.8%** | **49th** |
| **Adults who are high school graduates, 1980** | **54.9%** | **48th** |

*1987 data unless otherwise specified.
**Andrew Hacker, U/S: A Statistical Portrait of the American People, 1983, p. 107.

high divorce rate, ranking first or sixth, depending on the measure used. The reasons for this rate are not clear.

Underlying almost all of these conditions, as Governor Clinton has so clearly realized, is the *very* low educational level of Arkansas citizens. Everything above, from teenage pregnancies to prisons, is related to educational level (80 percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts, and each prisoner costs the American taxpayer an average of $24,000 a year. The Arkansas rate is a very low $8,624 a year, enough to send three students to an Arkansas college or provide Head Start programs for three little children in Arkansas. Per head, prisoners are as expensive as you can get, plus the limited return on the investment. Because Head Start kids do not go to jail as often as the controls (see chart on page 7), a dollar invested in Head Start saves the American taxpayer $7 in later services (like jails) that don't need to be provided. If Arkansas educators had $8,624 to spend on each child, the state would be a different place.

Education doesn't create jobs, but poor education can

certainly drive jobs away. As we'll see in a moment, there are some optimistic things about the Arkansas educational system which may get the state rolling in creating new jobs. Because so many Arkansas children will live out their lives in Arkansas, education is of vital importance—today's Arkansas child will become tomorrow's Arkansas adult (unlike Nevada, in which 70 percent of the citizens were born in another state). We can learn some useful things by looking at who moved in and out of Arkansas from 1975 to 1980, the last years for which such data are available:

**ARKANSAS POPULATION MOVEMENT: 1975–1980**

| | All | White | Black | Hispanic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *In* | 275,727 | 248,519 | 19,716 | 4069 |
| *Out* | 206,074 | 173,727 | 27,794 | 2930 |
| *Net* | 69,653 | 74,792 | −8,078 | 1139 |

For a state of over two million to have a "new" population of only 69,792 in a five-year period is to suggest real stability. Even the movement out of 27,000 black persons is almost matched by a group of 19,000 moving *in*. What would be nice to know, and cannot be determined from existing sources, is whether or not those who moved out are better educated and wealthier than those who moved in. Colorado, for example, leads the country in percentage of adults who possess a college degree, but a substantial number of them earned their degree in another state, then moved to Colorado. The taxpayers of Michigan, Indiana and Ohio paid for the degree, and Colorado gets a "freebie."

Arkansas is not yet in a position to attract significant numbers of college-trained people, due to the dearth of jobs that pay well and require college-level skills. In the chart below, the first column represents the percentage of the Arkansas work force in that area, the second represents an index of the importance of that sector to the state's economy, using 100 as the U.S. average.

The Arkansas work force is heavily invested in difficult areas! The vulnerabilities of agriculture and mining are well known, yet Arkansas has a large percentage of workers in this first category. Construction is a good area for middle-income jobs, but a large number of Arkansas construction workers are unemployed. Although manufacturing is an unstable area, Arkansas has managed to maintain its jobs in this area and has considerable potential compared to other states which must convert their $15 per hour machinists into $4 an hour clerks. However, the "high end" of the service economy—finance, insurance, real estate, business services—is conspicuously low in

**ARKANSAS: WORK FORCE AND INDUSTRIES**

| | PERCENT | INDEX |
|---|---|---|
| AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISH, MINING | 6.8% | 170 |
| CONSTRUCTION | 7.0% | 119 |
| MANUFACTURING | 25.1% | 112 |
| TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION | 7.1% | 97 |
| RETAIL, WHOLESALE TRADE | 19.8% | 97 |
| FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE | 4.3% | 72 |
| BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE | 7.0% | 83 |
| PROFESSIONAL SERVICES | 19.0% | 94 |
| PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 4.0% | 75 |

Arkansas. Adding a lot of jobs for janitors, security guards, maids, clerks and cashiers won't help the Arkansas economy very much. Last year, 3.5 million Americans worked full time and yet were eligible for poverty benefits! If we look at the actual structure of jobs in Arkansas, we can see this tendency:

**ARKANSAS JOBS**
**Total Work Force 875,700**

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance managers | 2,300 |
| Accountants | 5,300 |
| Wholesale, Retail Buyers | 1,100 |
| Purchasing Agents | 1,400 |
| Engineers (all fields) | 6,100 |
| Doctors | 2,800 |
| Dentists | 700 |
| Lawyers | 2,700 |
| Computer Programmers | 900 |
| * * * * * | |
| Secretaries | 29,700 |
| Janitors | 24,300 |
| Guards | 4,100 |
| Fast food | 34,400 |
| Maids | 6,600 |

Source: *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1986.

This table is designed to show the "top" and "bottom" of the Arkansas job structure, in terms of the education needed and compensation received. In Arkansas, as in the U.S., for every new job created for a computer programmer, we are creating about *nine* new jobs for cashiers! Although the point of adding jobs is to get people off welfare, it is very possible in Arkansas, and elsewhere, to work full time and *still* be eligible for poverty programs. This issue will not be solved by a 20 cent an hour increase in minimum wage, either for the country or for Arkansas. Because only 45 percent of Arkansas women work outside the home, the chance of putting together two low-paying salaries so that the family can survive is not easy in Arkansas. We need to look both at the *percent increase* of jobs in various categories as well as the *total number* of new jobs created (See page, opposite).

Although the motivation to increase the number of new jobs is certainly commendable, we need to look carefully at the wages they provide. While "smokestack chasing" has yielded some new jobs in some southeastern states, the best plan seems to be to increase the number of new small business starts, particularly in the well-paying sectors of the service economy and in small specialty manufacturing operations. Arkansas ranked 20th in new business incorporations in 1987, a plus for the economy. The allure of the large factory with its thousands of jobs may be good public relations, but may not be as good a long term investment as some might think, compared to a strategy of diversification of the economy into the middle of the service economy, with new businesses *owned by Arkansans*, plus small flexible manufacturing operations. For example, the Sanyo plant in Forrest City has transferred operations to Tijuana, reducing the work force from 2,000 to 190 as of August, 1988.

## ARKANSAS EDUCATION

We have described a series of tough state problems, not easily solved. (The only thing tougher than urban poverty is *rural* poverty, plus the combination of the two.) To think of education as the White Charger, running off to solve these problems, is asking a lot. Let's begin by looking at some of the basic educational numbers for the state as outlined on page six.

This profile of the state's educational system reflects the state's demography with great accuracy. The long, gradual decline in enrollments from 1970 to 1982 is now over, and elementary enrollments are showing a slight increase. The state is still investing far less per student and per teacher than the nation as a whole. Just when we discover that education gets better one school at a time, meaning that local leadership is vital to school improvement, Arkansas education funding in 1987 comes 60 percent from the state. This trend toward increased proportion of the state funding is a national trend. It is hard for local board members, administrators and teachers to feel "in charge" when the Golden Rule is in effect—he who has the gold makes the rule. Little Rock is calling the shots.

Private school enrollments, about 12 percent nationally, are only 4 percent in Arkansas, but constitute 18,000 students, and produce a disproportionate share of high school graduates.

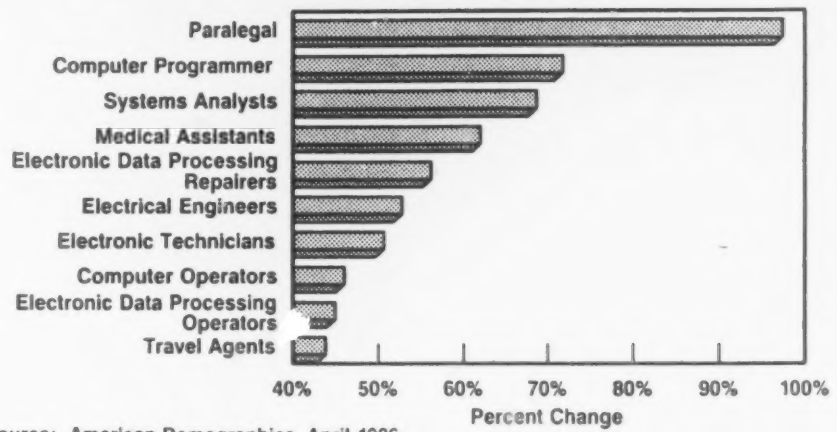
One of the strong features of Arkansas education is the retention rate to high school graduation, ranking 15th in the nation with 78 percent of sophomores graduating as seniors "on time." To this extent, Arkansas has a better track record on this crucial indicator than wealthy states like New York, California, Texas and Florida, all in the bottom ten on retention. Even though quite a few children in Arkansas have dropped out *before* the ninth grade and are therefore not included in these numbers, the overall performance on retention is very good.

Although retention rates are favorable, scores on the ACT, taken by 56.9 percent of graduating students, are not. Arkansas ranks 24th of the 28 states using the ACT, in terms of students who score over 26. Minorities, making up 25 percent of school enrollments, have shown some improvement, another good base to work from. The one most difficult indicator to work with is the percentage of children in poverty, ranking fifth in the nation, a problem for white and black citizens alike.

As a result of landmark legislation passed in 1983, Arkansas now has higher graduation requirements (as of June 1987), a competency testing program for grades 3, 6 and 8 (the "promotional gates" program), a longer school day and year, increases in the state sales tax for education in 1983 plus a record 281 school districts with higher

# FASTEST GROWING JOBS IN TECHNICAL AREAS

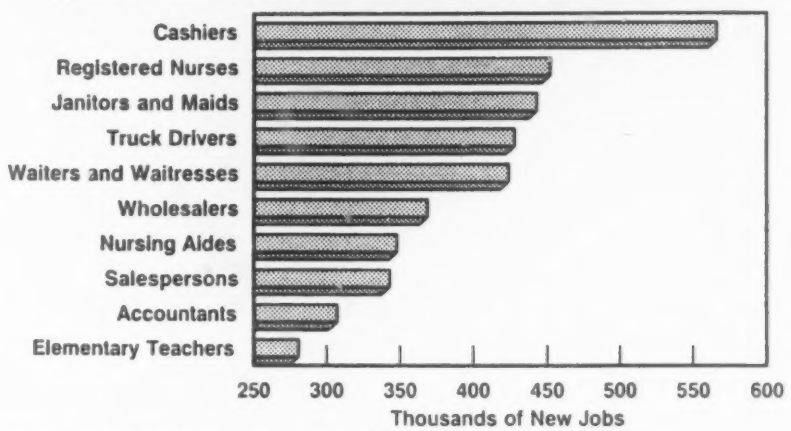
## (Fastest Relative Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

# MOST NEW JOBS IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

## (Fastest Absolute Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

## ARKANSAS SCHOOL PROFILE

| | *1970* | *1985* | *1987* (Fall) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Enrollment | 463,000 | 433,000 | 437,036 |
| K-8 Enrollment | 330,000 | 303,000 | 307,086 |
| 9-12 Enrollment | 133,000 | 130,000 | 129,950 |

| | *1973-74* | *1985-86* |
|---|---|---|
| Per-Pupil Expenditure | $ 806 (U.S. $ 1,147) | $ 2,642 (U.S. $ 3,677) |
| Teachers Salaries | $8,651 (U.S. $11,690) | $19,538 (U.S. $25,257) |
| School Funding: Federal | 17.4% | 10.3% |
| State | 47.5% | 61.3% |
| Local | 35.1% | 28.3% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Private School Enrollment, 1980 | 18,423 |
| Catholic | 7,223 |
| Other private | 11,200 |
| Percent of 1978 9th graders graduating in 1982 | 78% (15th) |
| Percent of 1982 9th graders graduating in 1986 | 73.4% (23rd) |
| Per capita income, 1986 | $11,073 (47th) |
| Children in poverty, aged 5-17, 1980 | 22.7% (5th) U.S. 15.3% |
| Pupil-teacher ratio, 1982 | 18:6 (29th) U.S. 18:9 |
| Pupil-teacher ratio, 1987 | 17:5 (30th) U.S. 17:8 |
| Handicapped Students, 1987 | 11% (26th) U.S. 11% |
| Gifted Students, 1985 | 1.4% (U.S. 3.2%) |
| Bilingual Students, 1984 | 0.2% (U.S. 2.9%) |
| Minority enrollment, 1980 | 25% (21st) U.S. 30% |
| Minority enrollment, 1987 | 23.5% (U.S. 26.7%) |
| ACT score, 1982 | 17.7 |
| ACT score, 1987 | 17.8 (rank 24th of 28 states in ACT) |
| Percent scoring 26 and over, 1987 | 9.9% (rank 25th of 28 states) |

millage for schools as well as equalization funding from the School Finance Act of 1983. New programs for the gifted are operational in twelve districts with 300 programs under development, plus enrichment programs throughout the curriculum, stressing reading skills workshops for 2,300 teachers starting in 1984. In order to increase the efficiency of the educational system, the number of school districts has been reduced from 361 to about 329, and 15 educational cooperatives were established in 1985 to support teacher centers and provide for a variety of local school needs.

As this is written in fall, 1988, results of the state's reform package are still unclear, but there is some good news in the form of scores in the Minimum Performance

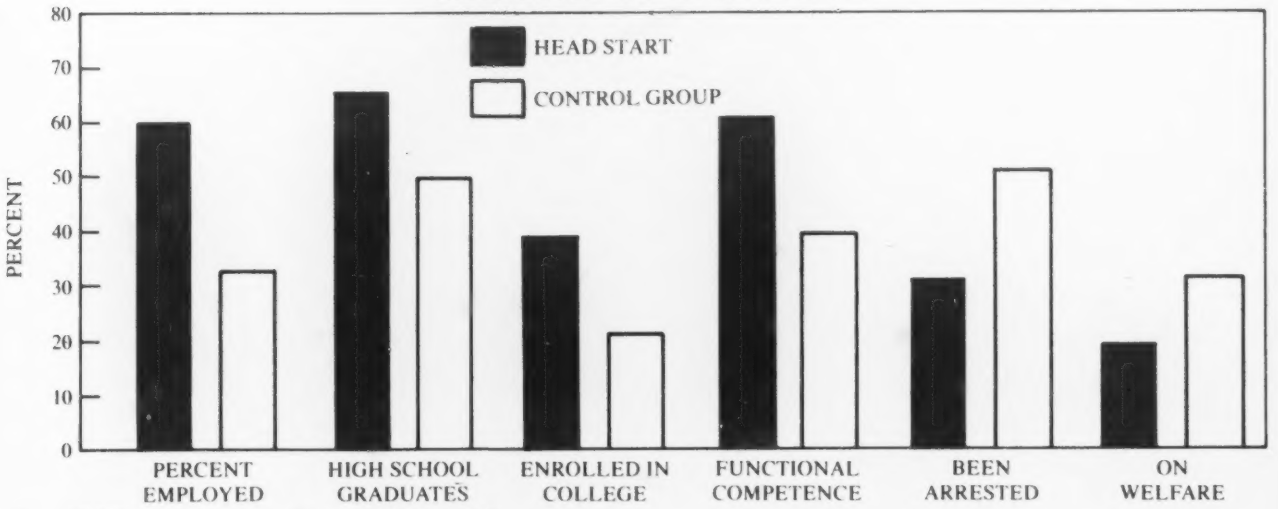
Testing Program, with ninety-three to ninety-six percent of the 95,850 students being tested scoring at or above mastery levels in reading and mathematics. A higher percentage passed at each of the 3rd, 6th and 8th grade levels this year than last. In addition, scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests showed most Arkansas students above national averages. This is good news for the state as a whole. However, some caution is provided by a well conceived study directed by Sara Murphy which pointed to some outcomes in the February, 1988 interim report. Although there continues to be widespread support for educational reform activity, ". . . there is considerable unease about the way the reform effort has been implemented . . . almost universal disappointment in the inadequacy of fiscal support to implement the reforms . . . at the level of schools, the reform has a heavy regulatory quality, and after two years, seems to most teachers and school administrators to have only limited potential . . . teachers, school administrators and school board members see the basic skills' emphasis and its related monitoring efforts as narrow, overly prescriptive, and filled with debilitating and degrading paperwork requirements which limit their work with students . . . they feel left out on issues of great importance to them and because of the failed promise of increased resources." In addition, the report notes a sharp increase in students who are being held back a grade due to poor performance, but little carefully structured remediation efforts are provided for these students. Clearly, it is in individual classrooms that the reforms will prove out, and teacher morale is currently low, due in part to inadequate funding of the reform package.

The overall thrust of these changes is entirely commendable. However, the state will have to watch equity issues very carefully, including *a renewed concern for desegregation*. It is certainly possible that one of the unintended consequences of the reforms will be a *reduction* of the graduation rate, especially for black and poverty students. Some of the early reform efforts may have been responsible for a drop in the number of high school graduates in the state from 29,000 in 1980 to 26,300 in 1985, going up to only 26,900 in 1987. (For example, the present very favorable class sizes could be increased in certain cases under the new regulations. For a student body containing a large number of at-risk students, no classes have ever been too small.) Raising standards doesn't help if students don't get the extra training to allow them to meet these higher standards.

No state can do everything at once, and raising standards is less expensive than increasing equity. The job of the state is not only to *pick* winners but to *create* winners in its public schools. Anti-poverty and early childhood programs, vital though they are in any program to reduce poverty in children, are also very expensive. A rising tide does raise all boats, but only those that are afloat. At-risk students, like sunk boats, do not respond easily to rising tides. Special efforts need to be made to assure that the maximum number of students attains the higher standards. For example, although Head Start programs seem expensive, they save about seven dollars in later services that do not need to be provided for every dollar spent on the Head Start program. Not every eligible Arkansas child is being served.

When there is debate in Arkansas on the cost of early childhood programs, the argument should be tempered by a discussion of the cost of *not* having such programs. In fact, Arkansas has several excellent programs in the early childhood area, such as the Good Beginnings program and some very cost effective Head Start types of programs.

**HEAD START CHILDREN AT AGE 19**




From High/Scope Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1984

### *Arkansas Higher Education*

As of 1988, Arkansas higher education consisted of 32 institutions, 20 public and 12 private, enrolling a total of 79,182. Of these, some 11,709 (or 14.7 percent) were minority, including 10,520 black students, 323 Hispanics, 540 Asian Americans, 326 Native Americans and 1,666 students who were citizens of another country or "non-resident aliens." The minority percentage has not changed much since 1972 when it was 15 percent.

In 1986, 3,912 Arkansas high school graduates went out of state to study, while 3,347 students from other states came to Arkansas for college, a "net" loss of 565 students. On the in-state picture, the state graduates about 26,000 students a year from high school, and enrolls about 21,000 new college students. At first glance, one of the most encouraging things about Arkansas education is the increase in students enrolling for advanced degrees, up from 2,018 in 1965 to 4,133 in 1975 and up to 6,227 in 1984. However, in 1984 Louisiana had 19,378 such students and Mississippi had 7,889. Even though Louisiana and Mississippi have larger populations, Arkansas needs to work harder on graduate degrees.

In fall of 1986, 68,760 students were enrolled in public institutions of higher education, 10,422 in private ones. While public enrollments have gone up from 43,599 in 1970 to the above 68,760 in 1986–87, private enrollments have also increased, from 8,440 in 1970 to the current 10,422. Compared with other states, Arkansas' public two-year colleges are enrolling a small percentage of the total, with 14,410 students or 18 percent of the state total. Nationally, over forty percent of college students are enrolled in community colleges.

The average faculty salary in Arkansas was $27,427 in 1985-86, compared with a national figure of $32,392. Public two-year faculty averaged $22,479 in that year, while senior institutions paid faculty an average of $29,100. Private institutions were around $21,000, except for two-year faculty at a rather low $13,100 average. Although "level of effort" measures are hard to interpret, it is very clear that in terms of appropriations for higher education operations, $196 million in 1987, is well away from the bottom of the list, when applied to each student's education. The Arkansas figure is $3,438 dollars per FTE student, fairly close to the U.S. average of $3,871 in 1987, and much higher than other states in the region like Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Mississippi. In addition, students paid $59.7 million into the system in tuition in 1987, or $1,051 per student, compared with a U.S. average of $1,183. This suggests that the state is making a reasonable effort in funding higher education, and that students are not being asked to make up the shortfall by inequitable tuition levels. However, faculty salaries need more effort.

Compared to national norms, it would appear that Arkansas has worked harder on its higher education system than its public schools. The next step will be to increase the effectiveness of the whole system, not by reducing the effort in higher education but by seeing the entire educational system, pre-kindergarten through graduate school, as a single investment in the state's human resources. The question is: where can the biggest gains be made in the entire system with the smallest, most targetted investments? We will consider this crucial question in the General Conclusions section.

# GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

**1.** To paraphrase the Orient once again, Arkansas at present is in a condition of "threatening opportunity." An able governor has seen the handwriting on the wall and has done something about it, concentrating on the educational system to move the state forward. 1988 is "mid-reform," not an easy time, even with test scores improving. The greatest difficulty is Great Expectations, given the very limited dollars that have been made available. If the reforms do work, they will work classroom by classroom, school by school. It is vital that teachers and administrators are made to feel a major part of this vital process. To make this happen will require real efforts on the part of the state's elected officials. These efforts should begin immediately.

**2.** The reform-package does not touch the number one problem in the state—youth poverty. Particularly difficult is the problem of *rural* youth poverty. The problem of developing a large group of productive, well-paid, middle-age citizens (absolutely key to the state's economic future) will not be solved if rural youth poverty is allowed to fester. Head Start-type programs should be mandated for all eligible children in the state, particularly for the parent participation element, given the large percentage of parents who are not high school graduates themselves. Arkansas has some excellent early childhood programs, and can lead from this strength so that *every* eligible child is in a program. Youth poverty includes black and white, rural and urban. The current school reform package starts too late in a young person's life. Research shows that by age three, some major environmental forces have already begun to hold some children back.

**3.** It is vital to stay the course with the existing reform package, and do what must be done to *make it work*. Efforts to reduce youth poverty must involve not only the educational system in Arkansas but the entire range of youth-oriented services, from health and nutrition to day care to social work to housing. These services are seldom working together today, with the child as the client in common. To make this happen will require gubernatorial and legislative leadership, but it can happen. The school reform package can stay in place (working harder to get teachers and administrators back on board), while this new effort gets going. It will not cost a large fortune. The hardest challenge is virtually costless—to get the various bureaucracies serving Arkansas children to realize that they must work together, as they are all *serving the same kids!* The Good Beginnings program is an excellent example of what can be done.

**4.** A truly diversified economy will mean more new small businesses begun by Arkansans, especially in the high end of the service economy—businesses services, financial services, computer services, professional services, services for the state's increasing elderly population.

**5.** There is a need in Arkansas to increase people's sense of what is *possible*, and then work to make this come about. How you get people to *expect* real progress and therefore work to make it come about is a mystery, but if it could happen in Arkansas, the result would be wonderful to behold.

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# ARKANSAS: SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. Arkansas has a small, rural, undereducated population. Few people move either in or out, meaning that Arkansas' future is quite literally today's Arkansas children grown up. Youth poverty is a major state problem, affecting white and black, rural and urban. The state ranks second in births to teenage mothers. It is clearly short on middle-age workers who make middle income salaries and thus can provide a tax base for the services that must be delivered to the rest!
2. The current school reform effort is in midstream, and a major question is whether or not the state's political forces will give enough time to let it work. Teachers and administrators tend to see the reform effort as heavy-handed, underfinanced for the task at hand, and top-down with little local support. It is vital that statewide efforts be made to improve the morale of teachers and administrators, who do not yet feel that they "own" the reform package. With test scores improving there is good reason to believe this can be done.
3. The state's economy needs more diversification —there is little activity in the well-paying end of the service sector. Small business starts in business and financial services would help a great deal to diversify the state's economy and would increase the middle-class population, a group that is too small on any measure. Arkansas has made a good start on this agenda. There are too many dependent people in need of services, and too few middle-income workers generating a tax base to *pay* for those services.
4. There is one good aspect to the state's economic development—while most other states have been losing manufacturing jobs, Arkansas is one of the very few states that has held onto their jobs in this sector, and has even added a few new jobs in manufacturing. This base can provide some stability as the state diversifies its work force by moving into other areas. The low-paying end of service jobs has a large share of Arkansas workers, given the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports a total of only 900 computer programmers at work in the state, but 24,300 janitors, 6,600 maids and 34,400 fast food workers. More jobs are needed in the state, but one should remember that in 1986, 3.5 million Americans worked full time yet were eligible for poverty benefits. More jobs are needed that will truly lift people out of poverty.
5. Education does not create jobs. But the lack of education can certainly make jobs disappear. Raising educational standards is reasonably cheap—getting a higher percentage of youth to *achieve* these higher standards is quite costly, but well worth it. Eighty percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts, and each prisoner costs American taxpayers $24,000 a year. (If only the schools had not the usual $3,450 but $24,000 to spend on each child!) A state like Arkansas has no choice—the tax base is not large enough to take care of any more prisoners. Additional efforts must be made to fund educational programs, including the vital pre-school years. Arkansas higher education is in better shape comparatively than the state's schools, and would benefit greatly if more talented and well-prepared graduates from Arkansas high schools could become college freshmen in Arkansas colleges and universities.
6. There is a need for all the educational levels to begin to see the single goal that should drive Arkansas education, kindergarten through graduate school. When one part of the educational system improves, everyone benefits.

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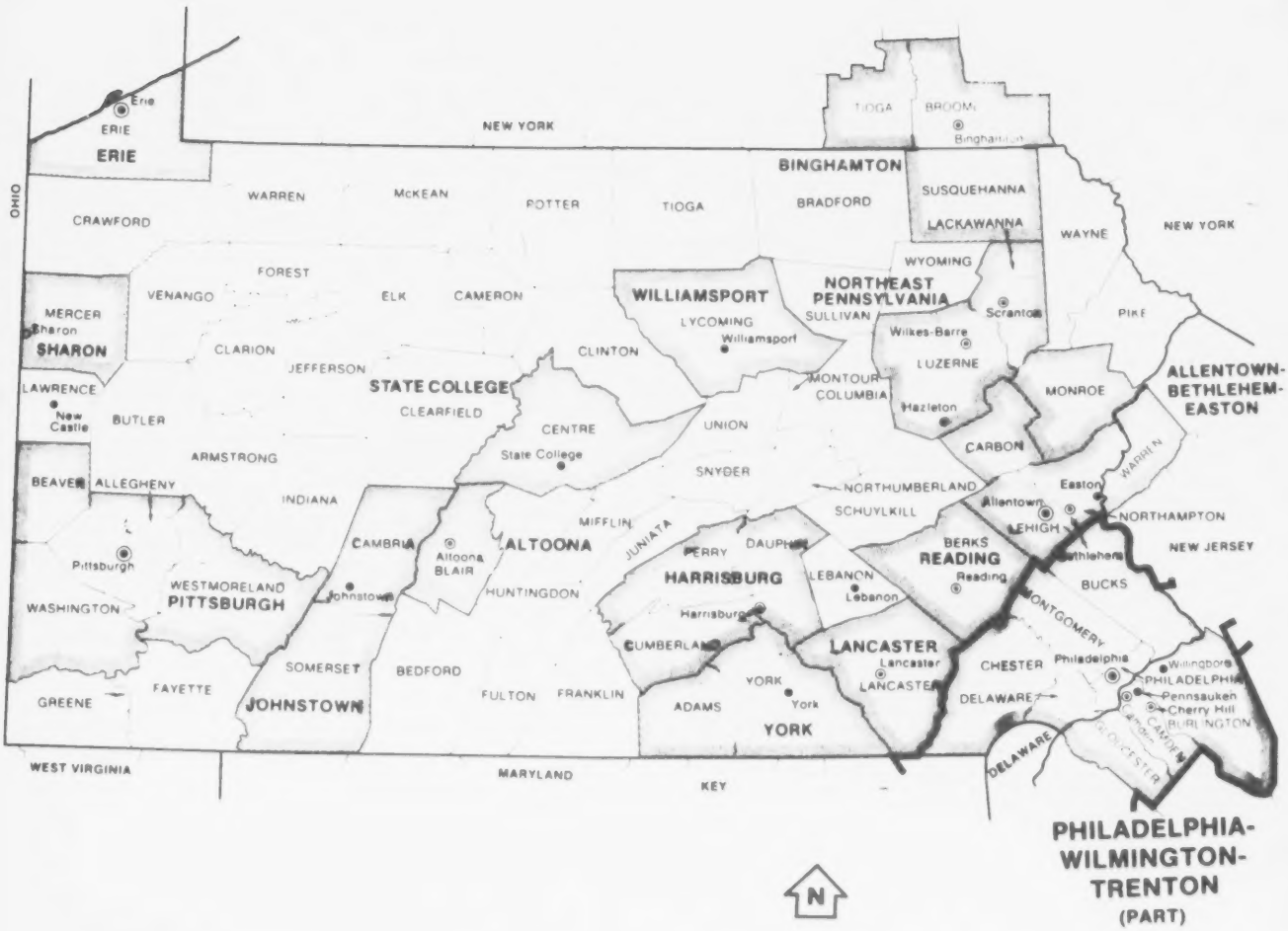
# PENNSYLVANIA:




# THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

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The selection of information and its interpretation remain the responsibility of the author.

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**COVER NOTE:**

This "people map" of Pennsylvania shows some very interesting things. First, there are no perfectly square counties in the state, whereas almost all of Iowa's are. This tells you a lot about geography as well as human organizations. Second, Philadelphia, the largest metro area in the state, is actually a part of a much larger "city" which is called Philadelphia-Wilmington-Trenton. It is a working reality, even if it crosses state lines. And in the western part of the state, Pittsburgh is actually a part of a larger unit called "Cleveburgh," which extends into Ohio (see text). These "people maps" are increasingly used by planners, marketers of goods and services, and even educators!

# PENNSYLVANIA:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

**HAROLD L. HODGKINSON**
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# PENNSYLVANIA AND THE "MON VALLEY"—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

This report will concentrate on Pennsylvania first, then develop a specific focus on Pittsburgh and the Monongahela Valley, using the former discussion to inform the latter. The objective is not to evaluate the state's educational system but to establish the demographic context in which it operates.

It is easy to see Pennsylvania as a state in decline, but it would be a big mistake. True, its population total has dropped from fourth largest in the 1980 Census (11,863,000) to fifth largest in 1987 (11,936,000). However, it is still one of the ten states in the U.S. that contain *half* of the population of the country, while 40 states quarrel over the other half. Its importance in the American economy, even with the recent conversion of steel and manufacturing jobs, is massive. In addition, some of these changes have resulted in a higher quality of life, assuming that clean air is part of the picture. As of May, 1988, the ten cities with the worst air quality included Spokane, Albuquerque, Las Vegas, Denver, Phoenix and Fairbanks, while the cities with the *best* air included Cleveland, Boston, San Jose, Detroit and Pittsburgh! (EPA violations for carbon monoxide.) It is amusing to realize that physicians are still recommending that their respiratory patients move to Phoenix, Denver and Albuquerque for the wonderful air.

The air indicator is significant in pointing out that the "rust bowl" transformation is now almost completed. Flying into Pittsburgh today is one of the few aesthetic experiences left. Glistening, clean rivers surround tall skyscrapers and green parks. Downtown Philadelphia has achieved some similar transformations. A drive through Lancaster, Hershey or Harrisburg suggests prosperity and activity. Pennsylvania *looks* good today. Under the surface can be found some endemic problems (the small number of new business starts, a major source of new job growth; the number of well-paid steelworkers who are either unemployed or working at welfare-wage jobs at the bottom of the service industries; the lingering doubts about Three Mile Island; the rapidly aging population; etc.).

Americans forget the root cause of many of these current problems. After World War II, much of the world's steel making and manufacturing capacity (Germany, England, Japan, Russia) had been bombed out. Our Marshall Plan helped many nations rebuild (and therefore modernize) steel and manufacturing facilities, while we in the U.S. continued to use our undamaged but aging plants that had been constructed in the Twenties and Thirties, which contributed to our amazing economic growth after World War II. But by the Seventies, time had caught up with us, forcing America to do what most other nations had done decades earlier—retool. Michigan and Pennsylvania are prime examples of how hard it is to rebuild while competing with other nations who have already modernized. Had the U.S. lost its heavy industry during the War, we would not be in our present situation, but we would not have had the vital postwar economic explosion that allowed America to dominate the world economy. (The Baby Boom—70 million people born between 1946 and 1964—both helped to produce this economic bonanza and thrived on it as well.)

Pennsylvania's two major metro areas, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, including about 7 million of the state's 11 million total, seem to have "bottomed out" in terms of manufacturing job losses and unemployment rates. Both are high in corporate headquarters, air, water and road transportation systems, excellent higher education facilities and improving public schools, strong linkage organizations across public and private sectors, financial services and international potential. On the other hand, populations are not increasing in either metro. There are real shortages of persons in their mid-thirties who have small children and will move into peak earning years, and the economies are still substituting low-paying service jobs for well-paying steel and manufacturing jobs. Both metro areas have many rich and poor, and not enough in the middle, as well as high personal and corporate taxes.

Fortunately for Pennsylvania, there is enough diversification outside of these two metro areas to offset some of the losses. Let's now look at the state itself, comparing it with the nation when possible.

The profile on the following page shows very clearly a state with great population stability. Because of the lack of movement in and out, today's Pennsylvania youth *will* become tomorrow's Pennsylvania adults! Because of this lack of in-migration, the population is steadily aging, right behind Florida in its percentage of senior citizens and

## A PENNSYLVANIA PROFILE

| | | | U.S. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Population, 1980 | 11,863,000 | 4th | 226,545,805 |
| Population, 1987 | 11,936,000 | 5th | 243,400,000 |
| Population Growth, 1980-87 | +0.6% | 46th | +7.4% |
| People Per Square Mile | 266 | 8th | 69 |
| Black Population, 1980 | 1,046,000 | 11th | 26,495,000 |
| Hispanic Population, 1980 | 153,000 | 11th | 14,608,000 |
| Persons under Age 18 | 24% | 46th | 26% |
| Persons over Age 65 | 14.6% | 2nd | 12.1% |
| Metro Residents | 84.6% | 9th | 76.6% |
| Birth Rate per 1,000 Women | 13.5 | 48th | 15.8 |
| Births to Teenage Mothers | 11.5% | 27th | 12.7% |
| Unmarried Births per 1,000 | 22.8 | 15th | 22.0 |
| Divorces per 1,000 marriages | 365 | 42nd | 490 |
| Born in Another State | 19.0% | 50th | 36.2% |
| Crime Rate per 100,000 | 3,102 | 46th | 5,480 |
| Social Security Recipients | 182 per 1,000 | 4th | 152 |
| Home Sales, 1985-86 | +22.5% | 5th | +11.6% |
| Working Women, 1980 | 45.6% | 44th | 49% |
| Personal Income Per Capita | $14,249 | 21st | $14,641 |
| Adults, High School Graduates, 1980 | 64.7% | 36th | 66.5% |
| Adults, College Graduates, 1980 | 13.6% | 43rd | 16.2% |

social security payouts as well as a very low fertility rate. Aging populations also have lower rates of crime and divorce, and many women who are too old to be counted in the work force. (Given all this, the per capita personal income is not as low as one might expect.)

What the state is short on is: (1) babies and (2) young married couples who will produce (1). A major concern here is the fact that about one child in five is born out of wedlock. Given the fact of a small proportion of kids in the state, every one has to become a winner, which seldom happens to children born outside of marriage. (However, this is a *national* issue, as Pennsylvania is about at the U.S. mean on children born to unwed parents.) Although Pennsylvania is a partially rural state, about 85 percent of its people live in metro areas, making it the 11th most urban state. It provides excellent health numbers, with 219 doctors per 100,000, ranking 12th, 634 hospital beds per 100,000 population, ranking 12th, and 9th in occupancy rate per bed. Unfortunately, *cost* is also involved—the average room charge in 1987 was $294 a day, ranking 4th in cost. Ability to pay can become a health issue for those working the "low end" minimum wage jobs in the service sector as well as those manufacturing workers whose health benefits have run out after lay-offs.

One of the facts of economic life these days is the necessity of having *two* incomes per family in order to live a middle-class life. Pennsylvania has a small percentage of its females in the work force, due partially to its aging population and to the idea that men work outside the home while women raise children. In addition, the Pennsylvania adult population is not very well-educated, which creates a problem for generating new, well-paying jobs that require new skills and knowledge. The recent increases in home sales may mean that economic improvement is occurring. Certainly the geographic stability of people in Pennsylvania is admirable, even though as the population ages, there will have to be younger families moving in to have children and begin work at lower wage levels, assuming they will work their way up.

Pennsylvania can also be thankful for its low crime rate. It's hard to realize how expensive a prisoner *is*, in terms of tax support. A child in school or a state college student each costs taxpayers about $3,500 while a prisoner costs $22,000 per year. (Last year, this author had the opportunity of telling several Pennsylvania audiences that it is eight times as expensive to have someone in the state pen as it is to have someone at Penn State!) What kind of educational system could we have if we could spend $22,000 on every student every year? Given the fact that the U.S. doubled the number of prisoners in the last decade while declining 10% in public school students, it is clear that our new investments in prisons will likely outpace our increases in education funding in the years to come. Pennsylvania's prison population increased 86% from 1980 to 1985, ranking 12th in terms of increase, while Pennsylvania's schools declined by 11%. And in that eighty percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts, there are sound, pragmatic reasons for making sure that young people graduate from high school!

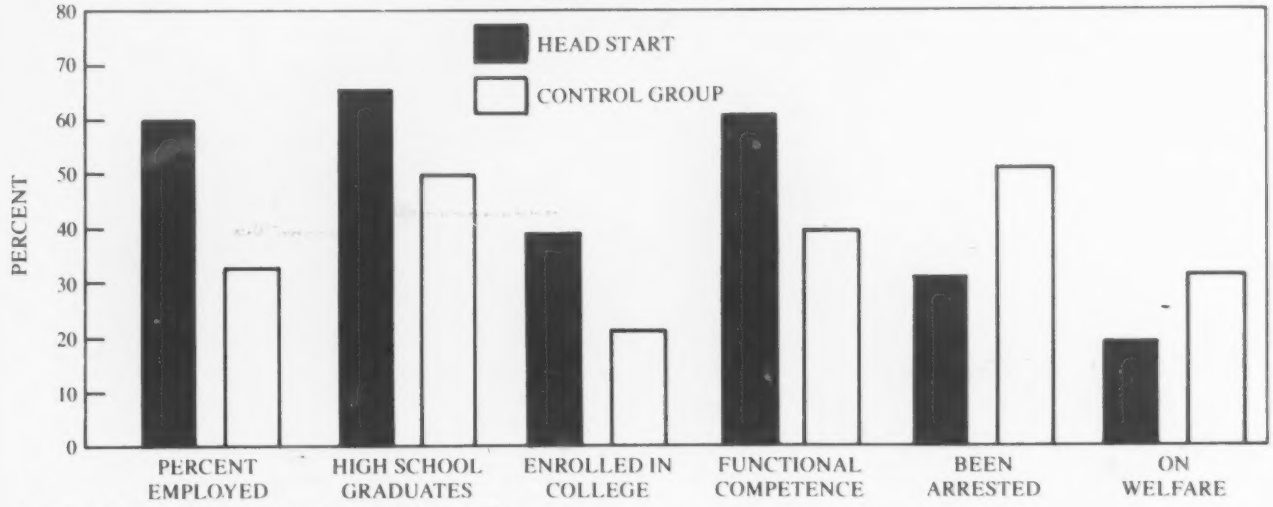
We are beginning to learn that certain programs for very young children have a remarkable ability to change people's lives for the better, in terms of increasing education, getting jobs and staying out of trouble (See chart below).

It is clear that in investment in Head Start saves about $7 in later services that do not need to be provided for every dollar invested. At the higher education level, students who have participated in Upward Bound programs have a *four times* greater chance of graduating from college than students who have not participated. In the Sixties, those who favored early childhood programs and efforts to increase the pool of minority college graduates were called liberals. Today they are called pragmatists. Given that today's Pennsylvania youth will be tomorrow's Pennsylvania adults, it seems clear that it is to the *state's* advantage to ensure maximal educational benefits for every student. No one benefits by having any young person drop out of school in Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania must pay even more attention to the state's job and business structures in the years ahead if it is to move ahead. The table on page four indicates the number and percentage of workers in that area, and second the contribution of that area to the Pennsylvania economy, with the national average for each area fixed at 100.

Between 1980, when these numbers were taken and 1986, Pennsylvania's work force in manufacturing has declined 21 percent (the U.S. decline was 6.4 percent), and service jobs increased 25 percent versus 26.1 percent for the nation. While the nation was adding 10,294,000 new jobs, Pennsylvania added 239,000 jobs from 1980—1986 ranking 11th which was good for a state in mid-recovery. However, we need to know how many of these 239,000 new jobs were paying $3.90 an hour. At the moment, that information is not available. However, we do have some information on the current work force as shown on page four.

**HEAD START CHILDREN AT AGE 19**




From High/Scope Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1984

## PENNSYLVANIA'S JOBS AND BUSINESSES

| | NUMBER | % WORKERS | INDEX |
|---|---|---|---|
| AGRICULTURE FORESTRY, MINES, FISHING | 136,117 | 2.7% | 68 |
| CONSTRUCTION | 240,162 | 4.8% | 81 |
| MANUFACTURING | 1,420,83 | 28.6% | 128 |
| TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION | 347,197 | 7.0% | 96 |
| RETAIL, WHOLESALE, TRADE | 972,676 | 19.6% | 96 |
| FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ESTATE | 256,725 | 5.2% | 87 |
| BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE | 348,085 | 7.1% | 85 |
| PROFESSIONAL SERVICES | 1,011,813 | 20.3% | 100 |
| PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 227,939 | 4.6% | 87 |

### Who Does What in Pennsylvania?

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance Managers | 19,900 |
| Engineers, total | 68,000 |
| Physicians | 23,600 |
| Lawyers | 21,100 |
| Computer programmers | 15,600 |
| * * * * | |
| Secretaries | 204,200 |
| Fast food workers | 231,400 |
| Janitors | 141,300 |
| Guards | 35,700 |

(*Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1986)

What is clear is that the state is not well-developed in the well-paying "high end" of the service sector—finance, insurance, real estate, business services, technical services and computer services. Jobs in this arena have been gaining, but the state is so big, *many* new jobs in the sector will have to be created. Although this is a guess, Pennsylvania is probably about even with the nation—for every new job we create for a computer programmer, we create nine new jobs for cashiers in the U.S. Percentage of job growth favors "high tech" jobs, but this is not the area in which most new jobs will be, as the chart on page five shows.

It is also hard to believe that many steel workers have been retrained for these well-paying technical service jobs that require considerable training and retraining. More likely is the $18 per hour steelworker becoming the $5 per hour clerk. Additionally, the youth demographics in the state mean an increasingly smaller number of entry-level workers with high school diplomas in the decade to come. It is likely that jobs will be looking for people while people will be looking for jobs. It is clear that the educational system will be vital in Pennsylvania's future, so let's focus on it.

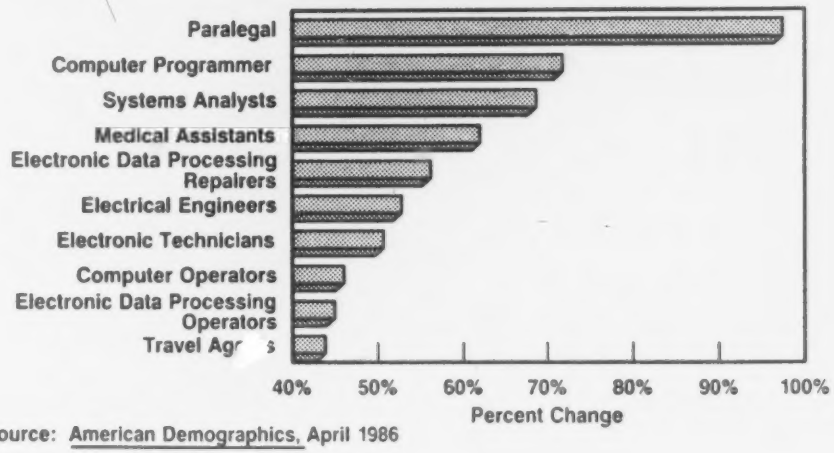
## PENNSYLVANIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The numbers on page six should help give us a sense of the Pennsylvania schools.

The thing that stands out from the numbers is the continuing history of enrollment decline in Pennsylvania. From 1970 to 1982, while the nation was losing 13.6 percent, Pennsylvania lost 24.5 percent. From 1980 to 1985, the nation was tapering off with only a 3.6 percent loss in school enrollments while Pennsylvania was still losing 11.8 percent. Only Massachusetts and Connecticut had heavier 1980-85 declines. By the 1987-88 school year, national enrollments were showing steady growth in early elementary students, as a result of the "Baby Boomlet"

# FASTEST GROWING JOBS IN TECHNICAL AREAS

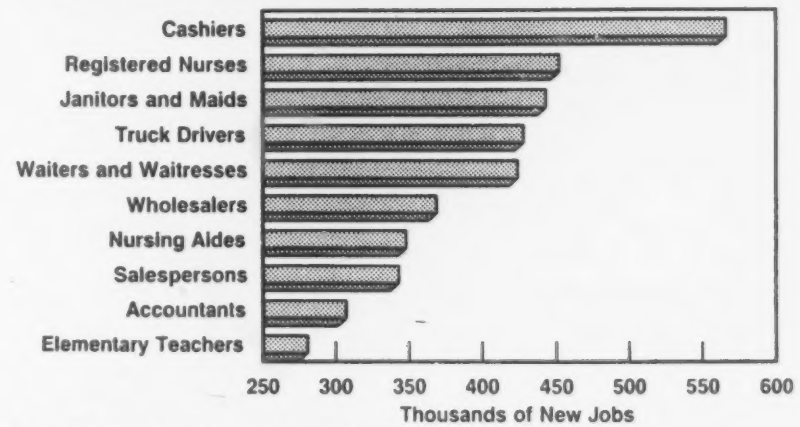
## (Fastest Relative Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

# MOST NEW JOBS IN TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

## (Fastest Absolute Growth, 1985 to 1995)




Source: American Demographics, April 1986

## PENNSYLVANIA SCHOOL PROFILE

| | 1978-79 | 1983-84 | 1987-88 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Elementary Enrollment* | 1,008,664 | 846,145 | 874,784 |
| *Secondary Enrollment* | 1,038,082 | 891,807 | 795,758 |
| *Total Enrollment* | 2,046,746 | 1,838,952 | 1,668,542 |
| *Per Pupil Expenditures, 1973-74* | $1,315 | | U.S. $1,147 |
| *Per Pupil Expenditures, 1985-86* | $4,235 | | U.S. $3,677 |
| *Teacher Salary, 1973-74* | $11,618 | | U.S. $11,690 |
| *Teacher Salary, 1985-86* | $26,009 | | U.S. $25,257 |
| *School Funding* | *1973-74* | | *1986-87* |
| *Federal* | 7.7% | | 4.3% |
| *State* | 48.5% | | 45.7% |
| *Local* | 43.8% | | 50.0% |
| *Private School Enrollment, 1980* | 402,058 | | |
| *Catholic* | 314,367 | | |
| *Other private* | 87,691 | | |
| *Percent of 1978 9th Graders Graduating 1982* | 76% | | 16th |
| *Percent of 1982 9th Graders Graduating 1986* | 78.5% | | 14th |
| *Per capita income, 1986* | $14,249 | | 22nd |
| *Children in Poverty ages 5-17, 1980* | 13.2% | | 28th (U.S. 15.3%) |
| *Pupil-Teacher Ratio, 1982* | 17.3:1 | | 19th—U.S. 18.9:1 |
| *Pupil-Teacher Ratio, 1987* | 16.3:1 | | 19th—U.S. 17.8:1 |
| *Handicapped Students, 1987* | 12.1% | | 13th—U.S. 11.0 |
| *Gifted Students, 1985* | 3.3% | | U.S. 3.2% |
| *Bilingual Students, 1984* | 0.5% | | U.S. 3.0% |
| *Minority Students, 1987* | 16.0% | | 30th—U.S. 30% |
| *SAT Score, 1987 (caution)* | 891 | | 15th (U.S. 906) |
| *Percent Scoring over 600* | 16.5% verbal<br>14.8% math | | 17th |

while Pennsylvania was just beginning to show elementary enrollment growth.

It is not commonly known that three quarters of the "Boomlet" is in only five states—California, Texas, Arizona, Florida and North Carolina, all states in which minority enrollments are above the national averages. While the national youth decline was heavily white, the "Boomlet" now pushing its way through the schools, is ethnically diverse, leading to steadily increasing minority percentages in schools, then—hopefully—in colleges and then entry-level workers. Pennsylvania elementary enrollments are showing the same trend, but much more gradually than the nation as a whole. Minority populations are quite low, especially in comparison to New York (35.6% minority students) and New Jersey

(30.3%). But the population decline in Pennsylvania's schools was very steep, and will take some time to point upward, as elementary school enrollments work their way through (See chart below).

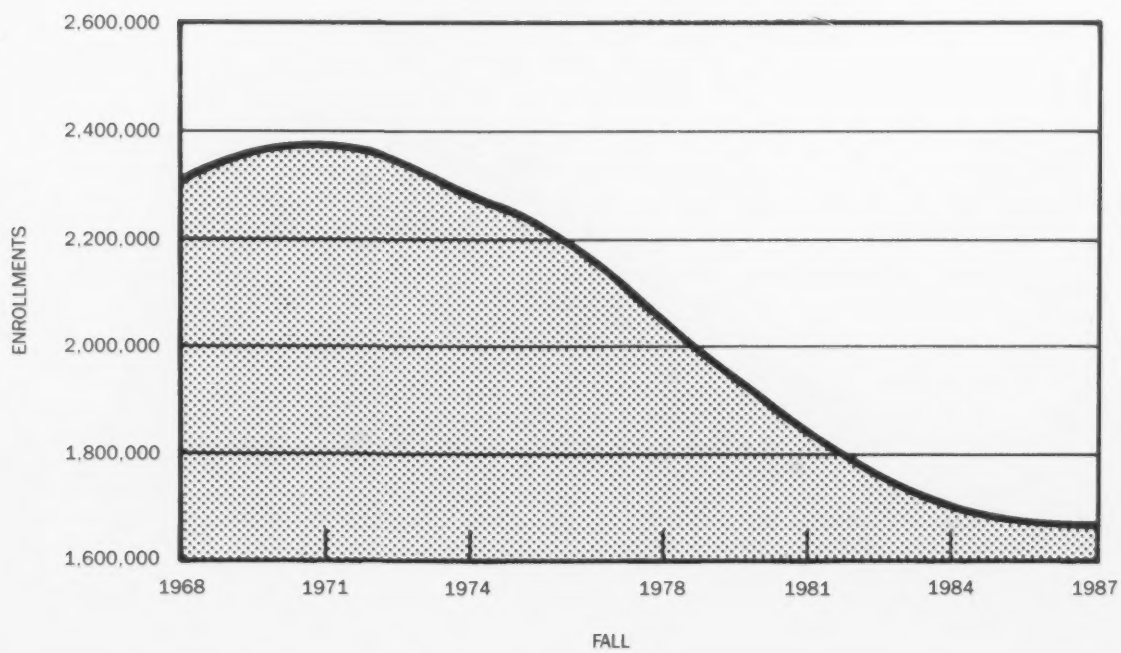
States with severe enrollment declines can look good on many measures just by standing still. For example, if you level fund school budgets but the number of kids drops by 20 percent, your expenditures per pupil will show a marked increase. Because we do not reduce budgets or fire teachers as rapidly as enrollment declines hit, you can also get smaller classes, still a highly desirable state of affairs. In addition, one can often "tune up" the quality of the teaching force by making very careful replacement appointments when teachers retire or move, etc. Thus, ironically, periods of enrollment declines can be periods in which states can *improve* their educational performance on some measures.

Pennsylvania is one such state. However, its very high retention rate through high school graduation borders on the amazing, especially when compared again with New York (45th). New Jersey, however, also does well, ranking 16th. Ohio, another big urban state, ranks 11th in the most recent years. Why do some big, urban states do so well on high school completions, while other states, like New York, California, Florida and Texas remain in the bottom ten? In many ways, New York is a premier state in terms of dedication to public education, yet this one crucial outcome—retention—has eluded it. One component of the argument is that in states like Ohio and Pennsylvania, a high school degree *was* needed to get a good job in the factory or mill, but college was not. (Both Ohio and Pennsylvania have a fairly low college-going rate.) However, as jobs change, it is not at all clear whether this stereotype of the well-paid high school graduate will continue to motivate Pennsylvania youth toward staying in high school and not going on to college. Only during the 1950s could an under-educated man, working in a factory have two cars in the garage, three kids and a non-working wife.

Pennsylvania also has a relatively low percentage of children in poverty, as well as a low percentage of minority young people. In a state with a great deal of transiency, this information would not be as useful as it is in Pennsylvania, where today's youth *will* become tomorrow's Pennsylvania adults, due to the very small number of people entering and leaving the state. Although SAT scores need to be branded with a warning label as an index of school performance (in Pennsylvania only 58 percent of high school graduates take the test, leaving no performance data on the other 42 percent), the fact is that Pennsylvania students do reasonably well.

Funding for Pennsylvania schools has been consistently above the national average, a little more than the rate of per capita income is. Pennsylvania is about 22nd in per capita income, 17th in teacher salary and 11th in current expenditures per pupil. In general, the investment has paid off well. Pennsylvania is atypical in that local funding of education has increased as a percentage of total dollars,

***PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TREND***
***FALL 1968 THROUGH FALL 1987***



while in the nation, state funding is now the dominant component. However, there were 21,189 students who dropped out of school in 1986-87 (excluding Pittsburgh City Schools) of whom about a quarter left because they disliked school.

Although state tax capacity is increasing in general, there are many advantages to keeping the funding (and therefore the decision-making capacity) as close to individual schools as possible. States like Texas and Arkansas, faced with urgent school reform needs, elected to start at the top of state government, with consequences not entirely favorable. Arkansas, however, took many steps to get local government and education leaders involved in the efforts, a step which is now paying off in improved test scores. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, has always had a strong tradition of local school control and leadership, which may be one reason why its schools only need a tune-up rather than a major overhaul.

Private schools play a more important role in Pennsylvania than in other states. Almost 20 percent of Pennsylvania's students are in private schools, compared to about 12 percent for the nation. In addition, there are many public school systems that are so good in quality they rival private schools in almost any dimension. Shaker Heights, Ohio, to cite just one example, is a community with an excellent ethnic mix, with a high school faculty that could be teaching in most colleges without any additional preparation. (To be fair, Shaker Heights, like many Pennsylvania communities, is a mixed community by race, but not by social class. The poor have been left out. Much of what appears to be race is usually class. Places like Shaker Heights have been pioneers in showing that black and Hispanic middle-class kids can perform just like white middle-class kids. The next American adventure in equity, now taking shape in New Jersey, may involve *income* segregation, a much more complex and subtle set of issues.)

In this regard, a word needs to be said about the largest city school systems in the state—Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh rank in the top half of the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the nation in local government expenditures per capita for education. Both systems have excellent leadership in the superintendent, and widespread city support and commitment. Remember that there is a major size difference—Philadelphia city schools enrolled about 200,000 in 1984 and Pittsburgh only about 40,000.

Although the data is inadequate, it does appear that both are better than average for cities of their size in retaining youth to high school graduation. (Philadelphia graduated 15,154 in 1987, while Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh, graduated 15,760. However, private schools in Philadelphia graduated 5,836, while Allegheny graduated 1,954 private school students. The Philadelphia percentage of private to public school graduates is one of the highest in the nation.) It should also be pointed out that the enrollment totals for the two public school systems are only a small fraction of the state's two million student total. This large fraction of non-core city students, plus the very small percentage of rural poverty, may help to explain the overall high retention rate for the state.

## PENNSYLVANIA HIGHER EDUCATION

When one thinks of the stars in the higher education firmament, Pennsylvania does well indeed. Ten percent of the nation's doctors were trained in Philadelphia medical schools, the world's first digital computer was developed at the University of Pennsylvania, Carnegie Mellon is world famous for artificial intelligence and robotics, plus the Department of Defense's Software Engineering Institute, Penn State is world famous for agronomic research and for providing services to the entire state, Swarthmore, Haverford and Bryn Mawr—the list of quality institutions is virtually endless. A city the size of Philadelphia with about 60 institutions of higher education, covering every conceivable educational area, is a blessed city indeed. Pittsburgh has about 32, with similar diversity of programs. But we need to look at the total higher educational system in Pennsylvania to see this diversity. (See page 9).

There are several ways in which Pennsylvania higher education is unusual, if not unique. Most states with a strong public and private higher education system find themselves fighting across the sectors with great frequency. This does not happen often in Pennsylvania, due in part to the Pennsylvania Association of Colleges and Universities, an organization that deals effectively with all segments of higher education. The Association and its Commission for Independent Colleges and Universities of Pennsylvania have been efficient, well-run and collaborative. (Most states have two associations, one for public institutions, another for private ones, and they often compete with each other.)

It is also relatively unusual for the private four-year institutions to have more students than the public four-year institutions. Perhaps even more important, prestige and status can be found in all aspects of the system. Carnegie Mellon, University of Pennsylvania, Penn State and Lehigh are quality institutions, but so are Swarthmore, Haverford, and the Community College of Philadelphia! (Community colleges are seldom given the prestige they deserve within their own states.) This perceived quality is the major reason for the large number of students who come to Pennsylvania to study each year.

It should also be noted that Pennsylvania higher education has only about half the percentage of minority students that are present in Pennsylvania high schools. This is certainly an issue that merits the attention of everyone in higher education. Although the numbers are not very good, it does seem that Hispanic populations are increasing in the state, while Asian populations are increasing as a percentage of college students. As in the country as a whole, blacks and Hispanics are under-represented in senior institutions and over-represented in community colleges. Of the 56,972 bachelor's degrees awarded in Pennsylvania in 1982-83, only 3,353 were awarded to minorities, 2,320 of those going to black students. Thus, 18 percent of public school students are

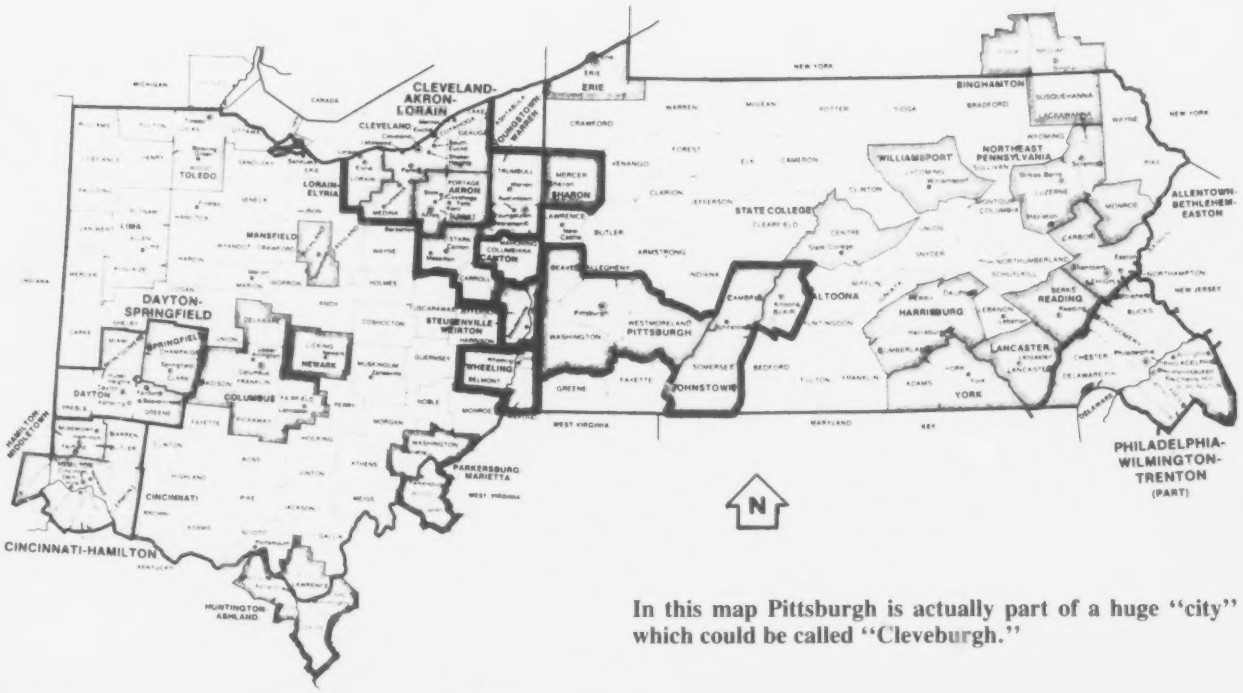
## PENNSYLVANIA HIGHER EDUCATION PROFILE, 1986-87

| | |
|---|---|
| **Public 4-year institutions** | **26** |
| **Public 2-year institutions** | **36** |
| **Private 4-year institutions** | **109** |
| **Private 2-year institutions** | **41** |
| **Total** | **212** |
| **Vocational institutions** | **396** |
| **Full-time faculty, public institutions** | **11,256** |
| **Full-time faculty, private institutions** | **9,328** |
| **Enrollment, public 4-year institutions** | **192,626** |
| **public 2-year institutions** | **111,564** |
| **private 4-year institutions** | **208,081** |
| **private 2-year institutions** | **33,652** |
| **Percent minority students** | **9.2% (U.S. 16%)** |
| **State funds for higher education operations** | **$1,176,066,000** |
| **Residents who go out of state for college, 1986** | **21,356** |
| **Non-residents who come to Pennsylvania, 1986** | **24,917** |
| **Net migration** | **+ 3,561** |

minority, 9 percent of college students are minority and 5 percent of bachelor's degrees awarded go to minority students. (In 1982-83, 11 percent of bachelor's degrees in the U.S. went to minority students.) Today's Pennsylvania youth *will* become tomorrow's Pennsylvania voters, workers and consumers. That is as true for black, Hispanic and Asian youth as for Caucasian. Given the low fertility rates and small proportion of young people in the state, Pennsylvania cannot afford a single high school dropout! There are no surplus youth to be wasted in Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania system of higher education is mature, stable, consistently funded and difficult to change. Those in the system, faculty and students, are being well served. The problem is the number of people who are not in the system but should be. Because the minority populations in Pennsylvania will increase more slowly than in the nation, there is some time in Pennsylvania to develop a plan to ensure that every young person in the state can enhance their capacity through all levels of the educational system.

# PITTSBURGH AND THE MONONGAHELA VALLEY




**In this map Pittsburgh is actually part of a huge "city" which could be called "Cleveburgh."**

The Pittsburgh metro area includes Allegheny, Fayette, Washington and Westmoreland Counties. Southwestern Pennsylvania would add Beaver, Butler, Greene, Somerset and Indiana Counties. There are parallels and contrasts here. For example, with population declines in most of the above, Indiana County grew 16 percent in the 1970's, due largely to the success of Indiana State University. We probably need to start our discussion by focussing first on Pittsburgh, the heart of the matter.

Pittsburgh is a very hilly place, producing some rather isolated residential areas, especially for the 70 percent of people in the metro who live outside of the city proper in places like Fox Chapel, Westmoreland County and Ligonier for the well-to-do, the middle classes of Monroeville and Mt. Lebanon, and the blue collar steelworker areas of Homestead, Aliquippa, Clairton and McKeesport. The Monongahela River carried the bituminous coal from neighboring towns (Washington, New Castle and Sharon, for example) to the Pittsburgh steel mills. In both coal and steel, undereducated men could support a family and own a home in good times; in bad times both not even approach their previous pay levels even if they could find jobs outside their fields. Because of the enormous dominance on these two fields in the Pittsburgh economy since World War II, the economic declines in coal and steel since the Fifties have cut deeper into Pittsburgh than any other American city except perhaps Detroit and the auto industry. Because of the spread of communities we have discussed, population declines occurred not only in the city of Pittsburgh, but in the metro area as well.

Pittsburgh had some major trump cards to play in combatting urban decline. First, the Mellon Family played a major role in the creation of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development in 1943. Phase One was an example of the wealthy of Pittsburgh working with government leaders like David Lawrence, deciding what to

do with the city. However, the events leading to and including Renaissance II were much more broadly participative and many factored, including one of the best inner city rehabilitation plans ever developed in America in the Sixties, the creation of new low income housing, the gleaming new skyscrapers of downtown, Three Rivers Stadium, Station Square, fine art museums and the superb Pittsburgh Symphony, especially under Steinberg and later Andre Previn, performing in Heinz Hall (yes, that was for H.J. Heinz of ketchup fame). Probably only in Pittsburgh and Chicago do you find this dedication among business leaders for the support and improvement of their city.

Pittsburgh is the 30th largest *city* with about 385,000 residents in 1987, but it is the 10th largest *metro* area with about 2,218,000 people. In most American cities suburbs grew at the expense of core cities, but in Pittsburgh, *both* declined simultaneously:

| | *1970* | *1980* | *Net* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pittsburgh Metro* | 2,401,362 | 2,263,894 | – 5.7% |
| *Pittsburgh core city* | 520,089 | 438,938 | – 15.6% |
| *Pittsburgh suburbs* | 1,881,273 | 1,839,956 | – 2.2% |

If either the core city or the suburbs decline, you can get along. When both are declining, there is economic trouble. Additionally, in Allegheny County, which includes Pittsburgh, the population has declined from 1,450,085 in 1980 to 1,398,142 in 1986. In addition, the average age in Allegheny is now *39* years, about five years over normal—28% of the population is over 55, while only 20 % is 1-16 years old. (Allegheny is also extremely dense, with a population of 2,000 people per square mile, twice the density of Japan.) The age problem is shared with the city, as we rank Pittsburgh with the other 99 largest metro areas:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pittsburgh age:* | 0–15 | 94th | 21.3% |
| | 45–64 | 2nd | 23.9% |
| | 65 + | 8th | 13.5% |

This gives Pittsburgh a very old population. One can surmise that the 100,000 residents who left the metro from 1974 to 1984 (who were *all* from Allegheny) were younger workers. (Westmoreland and Fayette actually grew a little during the same time.) Pittsburgh lost 80,000 manufacturing jobs from 1975 to 1985, from 26% to 16% of the work force. These numbers may help to destroy another Pittsburgh myth—*everybody* worked in the mills. In 1975, only 9% of all Pittsburgh workers worked in steel mills; 4% do today. After primary metals one finds durable manufacturing—non-electrical machinery, fabricated machinery and electrical machinery in that order. However, all these manufacturing areas have also been vulnerable to major upheavals in the economy. Pittsburgh was next to last of the top 100 metro's in manufacturing employment growth since 1975. Largest employers in the sector are Westinghouse Electric with over 23,000 employees, USX with 10,000, and a number of companies around 2,500 workers, including Allegheny Ludlum Steel, LTV Steel, PPG Industries, and Alcoa.

In non-manufacturing, Pittsburgh showed some growth, but it was agonizingly slow. Many "showcase" projects, like Renaissance II, were not big enough to change the employment picture—Pittsburgh construction jobs only grew by 1,500 from 1975-85, for a 4% gain, while the nation's construction work force grew by *30%* and the Middle Atlantic region by 20% during the same decade. Although the growth rates were below the state and nation, Pittsburgh's business services sector (advertising to architecture to data processing to accounting services) grew the most, as did finance, insurance and real estate. Aside from local, state and federal government workers, the largest non-manufacturing employers at over 5,000 each are The University of Pittsburgh, Mellon Bank, U.S. Air, Giant Eagle Grocery Stores and the May Company (owners of Kaufmann's Department Stores). There is potential for further expansion of good jobs in the services sector, but these generally would not be practical alternatives for steel workers. The metro is very high in adults with a high school diploma—43% versus a 100 metro average of 35%, but it ranks *94th* in adults who have completed one or more years of college—26.9% of Pittsburghers versus 35% average for the 100 metroes.

Here is an anomaly—twelve public and twenty private institutions of higher education serving a metro that ranks 94th in citizens with some college experience! One wonders whether there is not some procedure to ensure that the major resource that is higher education in Pittsburgh can be applied more effectively to the citizens of that area.

It is important to realize that the spurt of major building begun in 1980 and resulting in PPG Place, One Oxford Center, One Mellon Bank Center, Fifth Avenue Plaza, C and G Tower and Liberty Center, had an important effect in bringing the city together. However, *commercial* construction has done much better than industrial construction, and it is not yet clear how the addition of 5.5 million square feet of office space to downtown Pittsburgh will help the unemployed steelworker.

The metro has great strengths and potential that need explicit mention. First, there is no better location for a transportation hub than Pittsburgh. Water, rail, air and highways still provide a remarkable network of resources, including an international airport with fifteen carriers represented (and airports do yield a lot of well-paying jobs), six major highways with eighty-three truck carriers and sixteen freight forwarding operations. Second, Pittsburgh is second only to New York and Chicago in terms of the total size of its corporate headquarters (measured in sales), and houses over 166 multi-national corporations. Third, Pittsburgh's economic woes have at least created reasonably low land costs and office and home prices. Fourth, Pittsburgh is clearly the financial capital of western Pennsylvania, and this fact has provided a measure of stability during the traumatic years. Further expansion of this role is limited, of course, by the financial presence of Philadelphia and New York. However, if the Pittsburgh econ-

omy begins to expand, financial services for Pittsburgh may be enough to fuel this sector. (The genius of Chicago banking was its dedication to improve Chicago. Indeed, many of the loans that created Detroit's auto business were signed with Chicago banks.) "Live where you work, and work where you live," may be the secret to the future success of Pittsburgh's financial infrastructure.

The major problems which confront Pittsburgh's future are already here. First, the dependence on steel industries is still far greater than is useful in a diversified economy. Although the remaining metals production companies seem "leaner and meaner" than in the past, and Alcoa's recent decision to stick with what they do best is highly commendable, metals production in the U.S. is: (a) moving closer to the areas in which the auto industry is concentrated, (b) joint venturing with international companies, as with the USX—South Korea efforts in California, (c) moving to new mini-mill facilities in the south and west, and (d) being "off-shored" completely to Asian and South American plants.

Second, relatively high energy costs, especially residential, will cut into the advantages of comparatively low housing costs. In addition, relatively high tax rates, caused by the large outmigration of taxpayers as well as the very large number of older persons receiving transfer payments, will serve as a disincentive. Third, the lack of young families just starting out, having their first child, working hard to move up to a better house, college education for their children, is a significant detriment to economic growth. The continuing outmigration of workers also appears to lose the better educated and better trained members of the work force.

## THE MONONGAHELA VALLEY

A distinguished report from the Mon Valley Commission in February, 1987 promised a shimmering future for the area:

**"The Valley of the future will have good roads linking its communities with each other, with the City of Pittsburgh, and with the interstate highway system. Along these roads will be new industrial parks and recreational areas, many of them near the rivers. The people attracted by new employment opportunities will live in renovated older homes or new homes, many with attractive river views.**

**Some people will work in Pittsburgh, commuting on the extended Busway or on new highways. When they get home they will be able to shop in local business districts for basic needs or in the malls for more extensive shopping. They will still live in Wall or Duquesne or McKeesport, but their local government will have consolidated some of its functions with other nearby communities for more efficient service.**

**Students will study in schools with modern equipment and innovative programs, and many will go on to college or into training programs. They will be able to find jobs close to home, possibly in the central distribution center or a new high tech firm, or even a specialty steel plant. . . ."**

This section is quoted at length, because it presents a possible reality. This is not the typical "wish list," as the rivers, recreational areas, etc. are already there. The statement also reveals, through its aspirations, the massive problems of uncoordinated transportation, population declines, job declines, stagnant housing markets, increasing poverty and inefficient local government units with inadequate tax revenues to provide services. The report also contains specific actions to be taken, with the accountable agents specified and funding sources listed.

It is hard to imagine a group of talented public citizens doing a better job of planning their future. Yet, there is a note of unreality about the document, based on the single, overriding problem for which there is no solution—the creation of a massive number of new, *middle-income* jobs. Education does not create jobs (although the absence of education can certainly make jobs go away).

The Job Training Partnership Act is alive and well, but three different JTPA service delivery areas serve the Mon Valley, and none have head offices inside the Valley. The clients range from dislocated workers to chronically unemployed to minority youth to homemakers. Programs range from GED preparation to customized job training and apprenticeships. Service providers range from JTPA to community colleges, from vocational/technical schools to proprietary schools and companies themselves. These collections of clients, programs and providers are not well coordinated. In addition, as Thomas La Belle and Christopher Ward of the University of Pittsburgh point out, there is a lack of evidence on which programs generate which results. For example, is it true that on-the-job training temporarily subsidizes employers who let the workers go after the subsidy ends? There is no evidence on this kind of question. What jobs will be available in the Mon Valley over the next five years? Without this kind of information, job training will not be effective.

In addition, small business starts are vital to the job growth of the Valley. The "incubator" system proposed by the Commission as well as the Business Technical Assistance Center notion are good for starters, but they do not target areas of special opportunity for business development, particularly in services. A "marketing plan" could be developed to provide special rewards for new ventures that are most likely to succeed in the Mon Valley.

Until this issue is addressed, other problems will remain. For example, school enrollments will decline until younger workers, just starting their families, move into the Valley in order to work in newly created jobs that have advancement potential and pay enough to support a family. At the moment, about half of the Mon Valley school districts have fewer than 2,000 students (See page 15).

As La Belle and Ward point out, there is major variation in the districts in terms of their ability to generate revenues to operate their schools. Only a small number of districts (West Mifflin and West Jefferson Hills) have a secure revenue base. Some plan for district or program consolidation is needed, given the "downsizing" agenda the schools will have to deal with in the coming years. (Since 1980-81 every district has declined by at least 10 percent.) One of the best poverty indicators is the percentage of

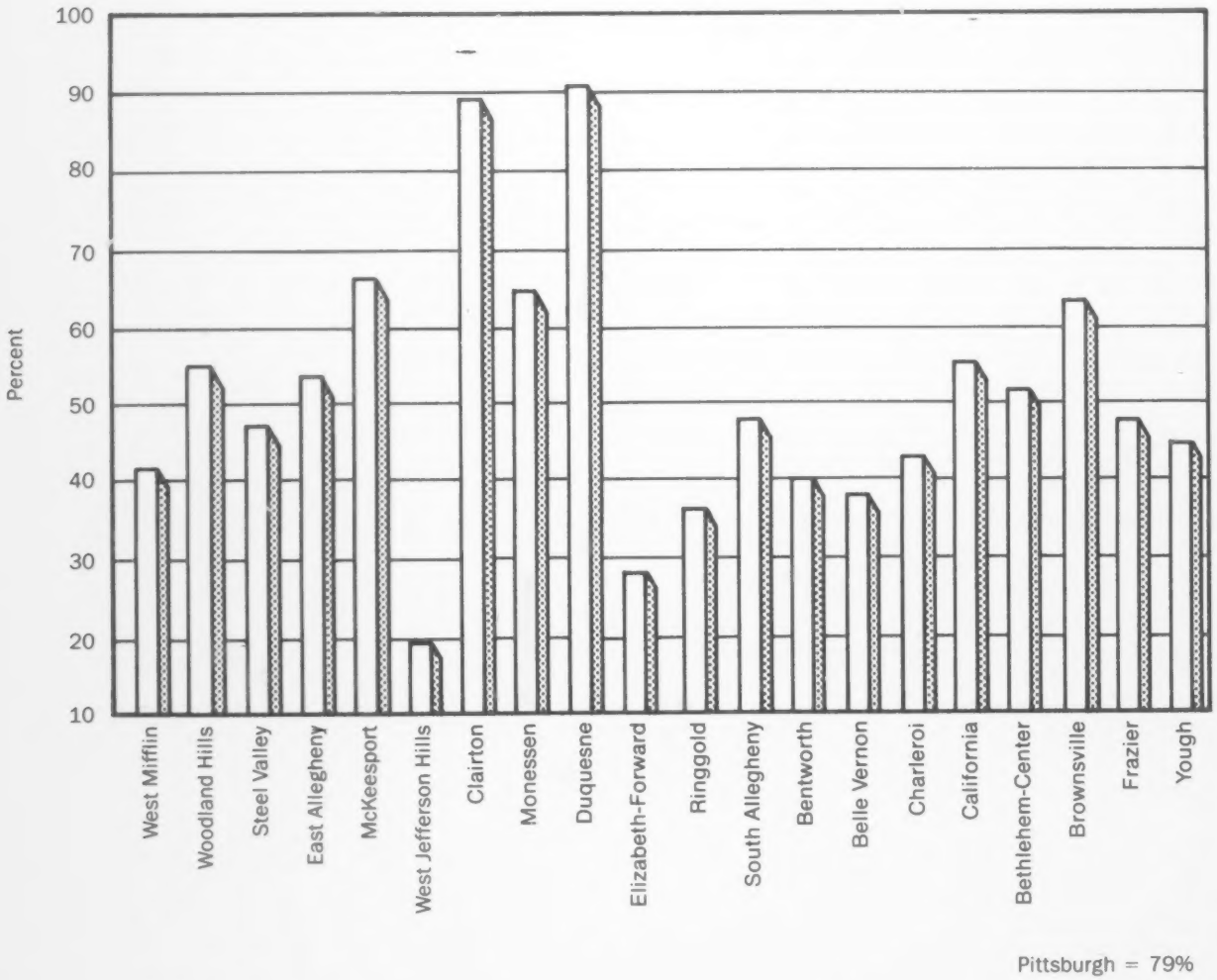
free lunches served by school districts. As the chart below shows, with the exception of West Jefferson Hills, every district has a serious problem of a near majority of children in poverty. (In Pittsburgh the free lunch percentage is 79%.)

With a high number and percentage of children in poverty, the importance of early childhood, Head Start-type programs, increases. Yet early childhood programs do not seem to be a major activity in the Valley. The same could be said of black-white relationships, another area that will need more attention in the years to come.

While schools cannot *create* jobs (except for teachers and staff), the showcasing of schools can suggest to prospective businesses that a lively, well-educated work force is being produced and will be ready if they move in. The University of Pittsburgh has led in this area, helping to create "Generations Together" and the classrooms of the future projects in Steel Valley. Other similar programs have demonstrated schools, universities and businesses working together. Such programs assist communities to sell themselves by putting their best feet forward. The Mon Valley Educational Consortium has begun some promising work in this area.

Downtown Pittsburgh, with all of its problems, nevertheless has its *symbols* of progress, particularly Renaissance II. These symbols of improvement are vital for every school district and job program in the Mon Valley. They can be the self-fulfilling prophecy that actually brings

***NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, 1986–87***
***PERCENT FREE LUNCHES OF TOTAL LUNCHES SERVED***




Pittsburgh = 79%

Source: Pennsylvania Department of Education

| Mon Valley District Enrollments, 1986-87 | |
|---|---|
| Belle Vernon | 3,069 |
| Bentworth | 1,437 |
| Bethlehem-Center | 1,835 |
| Brownsville | 2,892 |
| California | 1,315 |
| Charleroi | 1,899 |
| Clairton | 1,174 |
| Duquesne | 1,062 |
| East Allegheny | 2,090 |
| Elizabeth Forward | 3,238 |
| Frazier | 1,563 |
| McKeesport | 5,013 |
| Monessen | 1,094 |
| Ringgold | 4,048 |
| South Allegheny | 1,884 |
| Steel Valley | 2,051 |
| West Jefferson Hills | 2,711 |
| West Mifflin | 3,169 |
| Woodland Hills | 6,531 |
| Yough | 2,885 |
| Mon Valley Catholic Schools | 4,278 |

in new businesses and jobs. All of Pittsburgh's institutions of higher education should become involved in this way, for their own good as well as the Valley's.

Because of the urgent need for diversification in the Mon Valley economy, success will mean a number of imports and newly formed businesses that represent the first time a business of that sort has ventured into the Valley. (This is contrary to most business development in America, as clusters of similar businesses nest along the suburban growth corridors whose core is interstate highways. Businesses will normally contact other similar businesses in an area to find out what "it's really like.") Some conscious strategy must develop that will encourage and reward *the first new venture in each business area that diversifies the economy of the Valley*. A small number of successes, particularly in the hardest hit areas outside of Pittsburgh which do not have symbols of progress of their own, may be the most viable opening wedge into the Valley's problems.

Finally, the Valley is not enough of an entity. Partly due to hilly geography, leading to poor roads, there is a great deal of separatism in the Valley. Although the Mon Valley Education Consortium and the Commission have understood the necessities of interdependence and collaboration, these values are not always found at the local level. At the same time, demographics suggest the emergence of a new entity which could be called "Cleveburgh"—a single area of high population density stretching from Cleveland through Pittsburgh and Altoona to State College. (See map on page eleven).

There are many opportunities for the Mon Valley in seeing itself as part of this larger economic and political entity. Metro expansions often cross state lines—the second largest metro in Illinois is now St. Louis, and the largest metro in Arkansas is Memphis. Interstate compacts can work effectively to exploit these opportunities.

# PITTSBURGH AND THE MON VALLEY—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

During the Fifties, a man with less than average education in Pittsburgh could have two cars in the garage, raise three children, sending some of them to college, and have a non-working wife who was a full-time homemaker. The Pittsburgh mill or factory worker represented the highest standard of living ever attained for factory workers. It is clear that we will never see this era again. Today, two incomes are a virtual necessity for a middle-class life.

Although Pittsburgh has many symbols of success today (and they *are* important), a good guess is that 79% of the kids in Pittsburgh schools are below the poverty line. As one leaves the city and moves out into the Mon Valley, one sees even more visible signs of poverty without the contrasting signs of progress. There is a dazed look in the faces of many displaced workers whose dreams, for themselves and their children, seem dashed to the ground. People do not know what to do. The geography of the Valley—high hills and poor roads—has made communication and sharing across small towns very difficult. Pittsburgh and the Valley have a large elderly population (eighth largest among the 100 biggest metros), and a very small youth population (*94th*).

Job growth has been even more difficult for Pittsburgh and the Valley than for Pennsylvania as a whole. Yet there is no doubt that many citizens have wrestled diligently with the problems, and have applied some good strategic planning. The problems just happen to be very intractable. The major one is a continuing dependence on steel and related industries, affecting the City and the Valley both. Related is the great difficulty of generating new middle income jobs and the new businesses that will create them. From these two come others—low school enrollments, poorly funded communities, no new roads being built, etc. What follows are some suggested alternatives.

1. The excellent system of higher education in Pittsburgh needs to work together with school systems to "showcase" the schools as exciting places where important skills are learned, for a wide variety of work settings and (equally important) for adult life itself. This is not only to attract new businesses to the City and Valley but also to increase morale and a feeling of achievement in communities.
2. With a high percentage of children in poverty, more attention needs to be focussed on early childhood programs than is the case at present. While retraining the existing work force is an important task, it seems to have become the *only* task in some people's minds. To neglect the youngest generation is to commit the error over again.
3. The same can be said of race relations, which needs to be a more specific focus of school programs and collaborative activity. Just as businesses need diversification to achieve a stable yet growing economy, social strategies need the same diversification for the same reasons.
4. Some consolidation of school districts and programs will become necessary in the near future. This should be done provisionally when possible, as the economy may rebound to the point that districts may become viable again, in both students and revenues.
5. Jobs programs, as in many areas, are not coordinated well in terms of clients, programs and providers. There may have to be a point person in each community who can do this.
6. The first new business in an area like computer services is the hardest one to get. In each county if not community, a strategy needs to be developed to attract the first one and make sure that it succeeds. This includes the creation of new businesses as well as the importation of existing ones. The first new business of a given type need not be big . . . but it had better be good enough to succeed. This "cloud seeding" strategy can be cost effective and has a snowball effect built in.
7. Although the City and the Valley work together in many ways, there are other opportunities to develop reciprocal programs that have not yet been created. In addition, the "Cleveburgh" metropolitan area does have demographic reality and suggests some notions about interstate compacts that could be useful to all. With imaginative leadership, which already exists in the City and Valley, and a *sense of optimism*, the long term success of the area can be achieved. But it is a journey taken one step at a time.

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# PENNSYLVANIA—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Even though Pennsylvania has slipped from fourth to fifth largest in size, its 11.9 million people, its natural and economic resources, its incomplete conversion from a manufacturing to a diversified economy, make it a state to be reckoned with. In addition to a major conversion from a dependency on metals production and fabrication, the state has a very old population, and a very low birth rate. (It is second in elderly and 48th in children.) Although its black population is over a million, the *percentage* of blacks and other minorities is low due to the large size of the state's total population. Its great stability comes from being 50th in residents who were born in another state. Today's Pennsylvania youth *are* the state's future, given the small numbers moving in and out. The state has a comparatively low crime rate, although the number of prisoners has increased 86% since 1980, well above the national average.

What the state does *not* have is a large number of young families just beginning to have children. In addition, it is short on two-income families, almost a prerequisite for middle-class membership today. Pennsylvania's prison population will increase proportionately faster than the school age population, and prisoners are about seven times more expensive than school children or college students—it's seven times more expensive to have someone in the state pen than it is to have someone at Penn State. What if Pennsylvania could invest as much in each school child as it does in each prisoner (about $22,000 for the U.S.)?

The state has added 239,000 new jobs during the 1980's although it is not clear how much these new jobs pay. There is good reason to think that many pay very poorly and many pay quite well, leaving a smaller number of new jobs in the mid-range.

Pennsylvania's schools do extremely well in retaining youth to high school graduation, as do Ohio and New Jersey. (Why similar states, like Florida, New York, Texas and California do so poorly is not clear.) Although total enrollments are going down, an increase has turned up in the early years of school and will work its way through the system. Private schools enroll almost 20% of Pennsylvania's youth, far higher than the national average of 12%. Pennsylvania has fewer children below the poverty line than the national average of 15.3%, which may be another clue to the high retention figure. Minorities constitute 16% of all public school students in 1987, about half the percentage of the nation as a whole.

The Pennsylvania system of higher education is marked by richness and diversity, both in public and private institutions. This "balance of power" seems to work in everyone's best interest. One major problem is the small number of minorities, as well as Caucasians, who go on to higher education in Pennsylvania.

In general, Pennsylvania education is doing a number of things right. Investments in the system have been high, and the investment seems to pay off, except for minorities. The state needs to do several things: (1) Attract younger workers, just starting families, with the offer of well-paying *new* jobs that have promotional possibilities; (2) Attract an increasingly diverse business sector, both through imports and new small businesses started by Pennsylvanians themselves. Incidentally, Philadelphia ranks as one of the ten metros with the largest number of black businesses, and 27% of the black population in Philadelphia lives in the suburbs; (3) Increase the fraction of high school graduates in the state who go on to further education; (4) Expand the consideration of minorities to include a rapidly increasing Hispanic population, as well as a number of different Asian nationalities moving into Pennsylvania. (Black populations are stabilizing and may begin to decline shortly); (5) Increase the effective interaction of all levels of the Pennsylvania educational system so that more informed decisions can be made about the whole. Information is not currently available about student progress through the system, kindergarten through graduate school. We need to see the entire pipeline.

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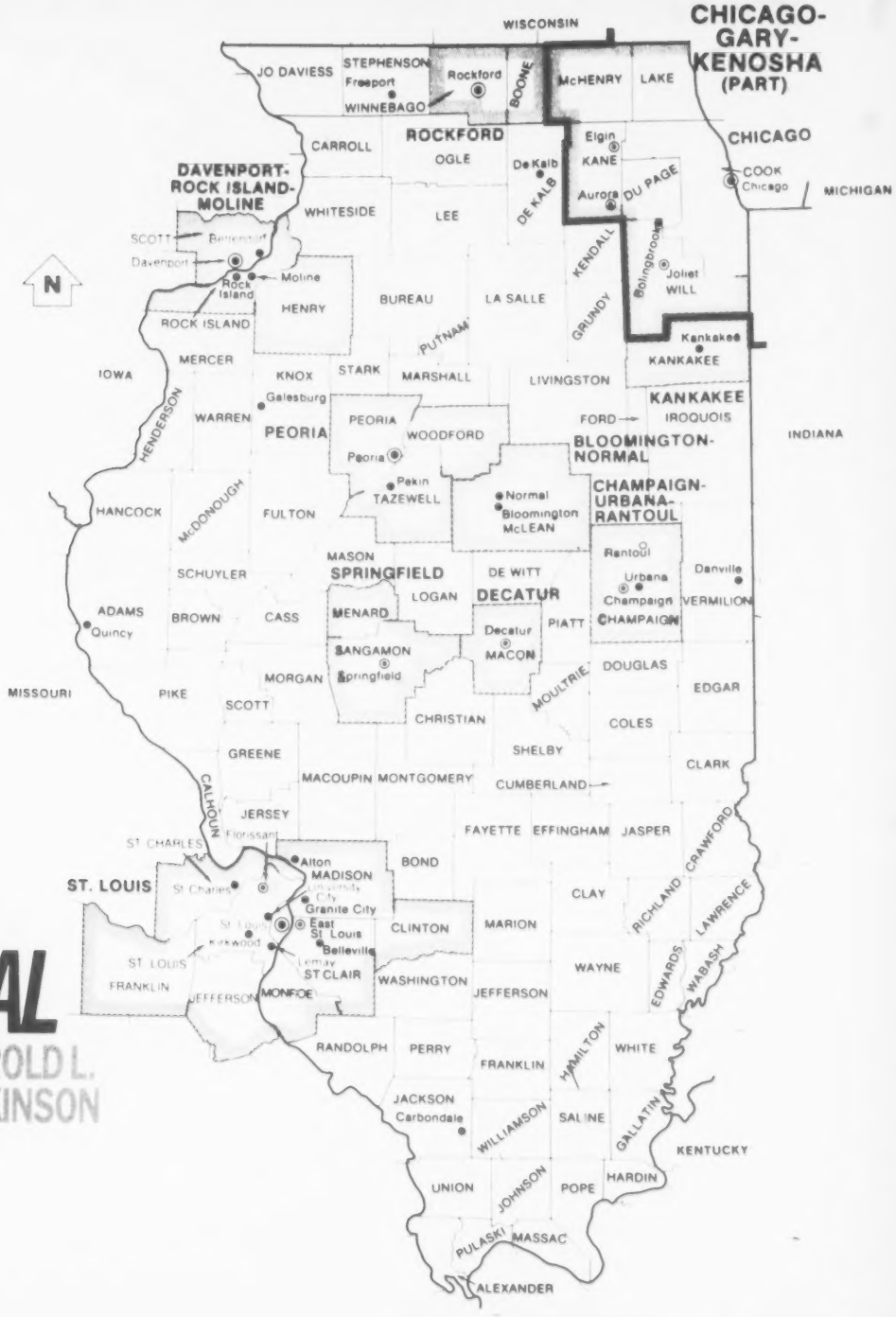
# ILLINOIS:




## THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

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**COVER NOTE:**

This unusual map of Illinois shows where people live. The shaded lines mark metro areas, where 81 percent of Illinois citizens live. Note that St. Louis is now the second largest metro area in Illinois, about 40 percent having crossed the river. Similarly, Chicago is now a three-state metro including Gary and Kenosha from Indiana and Wisconsin, respectively. More talks with other state governments are an inevitable part of Illinois' future, as cities do not stop growing when they come to a state line! "People maps" like this one are becoming increasingly useful to politicians, marketers of products and services, and to those planning educational programs as well.

# ILLINOIS:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

**HAROLD L. HODGKINSON**
**Director**
**Center for Demographic Policy**
**Institute for Educational Leadership**

# ILLINOIS—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Although the "Heartland" is very difficult to define (just like "Dixie"), Illinois is the only state that combines the aspects of the Great Lakes—manufacturing, ethnic diversity, unions, large urban centers—with those of the Great Plains—rural, agricultural, small town, low diversity. Many people describe Illinois in terms of Chicago—the authors of the excellent *Book of America* devote 16 pages to Chicago and only 9 to Illinois! No other city dominates its state in quite the same way.

But if you were asked to name the *second* largest metro area in Illinois, you would most likely get it wrong. The second largest metro in Illinois is actually St. Louis, over 40 percent of which is now located in the state of Illinois. (As other state profiles in this series have pointed out, cities do not stop growing when they come to a state line. The largest metro in Arkansas is Memphis, most of Omaha is now in Iowa, while the Boston metro continues its march into New Hampshire.) This eastward migration of St. Louis, extending all the way to Clinton County, includes far more than just East St. Louis, a city with a very high murder rate. In addition, Chicago itself has been moving eastward, and now includes Gary and Kenosha in the metro population. As time goes on, Illinois will have to pay more attention to the interstate compacts which will be needed to coordinate both St. Louis and the Gary-Kenosha sectors of Chicago, not to mention the Appalachian connection with Kentucky in the southeastern sector.

One does not think of the legislature in Springfield as a hotbed of innovation. One thinks rather of patronage systems, some of the roughest prisons in the nation, continued racial segregation and strife and machine politics. To do so is not to be fair to the major revision of the state constitution in the 1970's, the creation of one of the most splendid systems of higher education anywhere, as well as the redevelopment of the downtown areas of both Chicago and Springfield. (On the other hand, Pierce and Hagstrom have written that in the 1970's, the Governor of California had 120 patronage jobs to fill, Oregon 12, Iowa 35, Wisconsin 26, and the Governor of Illinois 15,000, with the mayor of Chicago having twice that many!) Certainly there are vestiges of the old system in Springfield, even though the legislature acts far more responsibly today.

Having established that there *is* an Illinois in addition to Chicago, let's turn to look at the state's profile before doing an analysis of Chicago (see page two).

What we see here is a very large state, growing *very* slowly, with more ethnic diversity than any other Midwest state, almost entirely located in the Chicago metro. It is a very urban state, with 80 percent of its people living in cities, giving it a high level of population density. One-quarter of all babies born in the state are born out of wedlock. In addition, a large number of babies die in the birth process, even though there are a large number of doctors in the state.

One surprise is that the crime rate is comparatively low, as is the prisoner rate and the increase in the number of prisoners since 1980. Illinois ranks 15th in state and local taxes per capita but 30th in per capita expenditures, as well as having many citizens in need of poverty services like food stamps. Personal income has not increased as fast as the country as a whole.

The state has not done well in creating new jobs—Ohio, Michigan and Indiana all added more new jobs than Illinois, even though their total populations were smaller. Manufacturing jobs declined more and service jobs increased less than nationwide. The average person in Illinois was behind the nation in personal income increases, although the data on new housing starts suggests that the economy may be perking up. Illinois is very dependent on nuclear energy, which could produce some problems in the years to come. Although traffic jams are numerous, they are less severe than in states with a higher number of cars per household. Although Chicago dominates the state's economy, it is worth looking to see why Illinois weathered the 1982 recession better than many other states. In the chart on page three the first column indicates the percentage of workers in that area, the second how the area compares with the U.S. as a whole.

Although the number of workers is small, Illinois is a national leader in beef, hog and soybean production. Once one leaves Chicago, one is in an overwhelmingly agricultural state, and a profitable one at that. It is the *combination* of this "downstate" profitable agriculture with the Chicago-based industries in manufacturing, finance, transport and communications that has allowed the state to recoup faster than Michigan, Pennsylvania or Ohio

## ILLINOIS STATE PROFILE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Population, 1987 | 11,582,000 | 6th | |
| Population Change, 1980–87 | +1.4% | 44th | (U.S. average: +7.4%) |
| People per square mile, 1987 | 208 | 11th | (U.S.: 69) |
| Black Population, 1988 (projected) | 1,832,000 | 4th | |
| Percent Black, 1988 (projected) | 15.6% | | |
| Hispanic Population, 1980 | 635,000 | 5th | |
| Hispanic Increase, 1970–80 | +242,255 (61.1%) | | |
| Birth Rate, 1985 | 15.7 | 23rd | (U.S.: 15.8) |
| Teenage Births, 1985 | 12.5% | 20th | (U.S.: 12.7%) |
| Births out of wedlock, 1985 | 25.7% | 9th | (U.S.: 10.6%) |
| Infant Mortality, 1985 | 11.7% | 10th | (U.S.: 10.6%) |
| Abortions per 1,000 live births, 1985 | 23.8 | 22nd | (U.S.: 28) |
| Doctors per 100,000, 1985 | 205 | 12th | |
| Crimes per 100,000, 1986 | 5,546 | 17th | (U.S.: 5,480) |
| Prisoners per 100,000, 1986 | 168.4 | 30th | (U.S.: 226.8) |
| Increase in Prisoners, 1980–86 | +63.5% | 27th | (U.S.: +65.7%) |
| State and Local Expenditures per capita, 1985 | $2,173 | 30th | |
| Taxes per capita, 1985 | $1,474 | 15th | |
| Total Federal Expenditures in Illinois, 1986 | $30.1 Billion | 7th | |
| Food Stamp Recipients per 1,000, 1986 | 63.4 | 11th | |
| Retail Sales per capita, 1986 | $5,721 | 38th | (U.S.: $6,123) |
| Manufacturing Jobs, 1980–86 | −23.4% | 49th | (U.S.: −6.4%) |
| Service Jobs, 1980–86 | +19.5% | 39th | (U.S.: +29.1%) |
| Increase in Personal Income, 1985–86 | + 5.5% | 32nd | (U.S.: + 6.3%) |
| Increase in Housing Starts, 1985–86 | +40.6% | 2nd | (U.S.: +11.6%) |
| Percentage of Nuclear Energy | 40% | 8th | (U.S.: 16.7%) |
| Vehicles registered per 1,000, 1985 | 674 | 40th | (U.S.: 743) |

from the recent manufacturing trauma, but not the creation of new jobs.

In addition, Illinois' new jobs have added to the low-paying service sector more than any other, making the total work force skewed toward low income. (This is why in the U.S. in 1987, 3.5 million workers worked full time, yet were eligible for poverty benefits.) Indeed, for every new job created in Illinois for a computer programmer, 9 new jobs are created for cashiers! The state's job profile is shown opposite.

Whether the St. Louis metro, being about half in Illinois, will be a blessing or not will be an interesting political and economic issue in the years to come. (And it is equally important to consider Chicago—Gary—Kenosha as a metropolitan confluence of three states, while Davenport, Iowa is an important part of Rock Island—Moline, as our cover map shows.) There is more to Illinois than Chicago, economically speaking. However, having proved the point, we need now to turn to an analysis of this major city in the context of the state as a whole.

### *Who Does What in Illinois?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance Managers | 21,100 |
| Engineers (all) | 68,700 |
| Doctors | 22,800 |
| Dentists | 6,100 |
| Lawyers | 28,800 |
| Computer Programmers | 17,800 |
| * * * * | |
| Secretaries | 208,700 |
| Fast Food Workers | 222,000 |
| Janitors | 149,200 |

(*Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1987)

### JOBS AND BUSINESSES IN ILLINOIS

| | % WORKERS | NET (U.S. = 100) |
|---|---|---|
| AGRICULTURE, FOREST, MINING, FISHING | 2.9% | 73 |
| CONSTRUCTION | 4.6% | 78 |
| MANUFACTURING | 25.8% | 115 |
| TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS | 8.0% | 110 |
| RETAIL, WHOLESALE TRADE | 20.6% | 101 |
| FINANCE, INSURANCE REAL ESTATE | 6.8% | 113 |
| BUSINESS, REPAIR, PERSONAL SERVICE | 7.5% | 89 |
| PROFESSIONAL SERVICES | 19.6% | 97 |
| PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 4.3% | 81 |

## CHICAGO AND ITS STATE

The Chicago metro area, with its 9 million people, spent about $75 billion in 1987 on goods and services. In addition to being the finance capital of the Midwest, it is one of the three places in the country in which law and finance have converged to form a massive new industry related to what Toqueville called "the making of money." (New York and Los Angeles obviously are the other two.) Its transportation resources are huge, as befits a gateway city: six interstate highways, 18 rail trunk lines, more trucks registered than anywhere in the country except Dallas-Ft. Worth, 100 million tons of barge-boat shipping and three airports which in 1988 rival New York for total passengers.

Chicago has been a haven for architectural innovation ever since the fire on October 8, 1871 leveled much of the city which then had to be rebuilt. (One of the ironies of history is that on the same day, a more severe fire in Peshtigo, Wisconsin, its flames fueled by a real tornado, destroyed the town and killed over 1,150 people in one hour, compared to Chicago's 250 fatalities over the fire's four days. Peshtigo will always remain a footnote to history, despite the enormity of the tragedy.) Chicago has built more than factories and office buildings. As a major center for the arts and cultural activity, these buildings are unusually well-designed. Although Minneapolis-St. Paul could challenge on a per capita participation in the arts, Chicago is the dominant cultural center in the Midwest.

Being a gateway city today means more than rail and truck. Chicago is the mail order capital of the nation if not the world, and more telephone trunk switching equipment is located there than anywhere else. The transportation of electrons through wires is *the* major system of both communications and transportation, and Chicago is the electronic gateway city as well. In that the motto in the electronic data base business is "he who controls the switch, controls the world," Chicago's future in electronic transportation remains very bright, in that a fee can be charged to *someone* for every electron that passes through Chicago.

Chicago is a city with outstanding facilities for higher education, with 34 private colleges and universities and 25 public ones. It is also a well-educated market, in that twenty-five percent of householders in the metro area have a college degree, higher than New York and Los Angeles.

But in the 1980's, job declines in Chicago were staggering. From 1979 to 1984, according to one source, Chicago lost 170,000 manufacturing jobs, more than the total manufacturing jobs in Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, and almost as many as in Cleveland. Small businesses in Chicago were not ready to take up the slack, as too much attention

## BLACK CORE CITY VS. SUBURBAN RESIDENCE

| | BLACKS IN MSA | BLACKS IN CITY | BLACKS IN SUBURBS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. MIAMI | 281,000 | 87,000 | 194,000 | (69%) |
| 2. NEWARK | 406,000 | 191,000 | 215,000 | (52.9%) |
| 3. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | 870,000 | 448,000 | 422,000 | (48.5%) |
| 4. LOS ANGELES | 943,000 | 504,000 | 439,000 | (46.5%) |
| 5. ATLANTA | 525,000 | 283,000 | 242,000 | (46%) |
| 6. OAKLAND | 263,000 | 159,000 | 104,000 | (39.5%) |
| 7. ST. LOUIS | 319,000 | 206,000 | 113,000 | (35.4%) |
| 8. BIRMINGHAM | 240,000 | 158,000 | 82,000 | (34.1%) |
| 9. PHILADELPHIA | 883,000 | 638,000 | 245,000 | (27.7%) |
| 10. CLEVELAND | 345,000 | 251,000 | 94,000 | (27.2%) |
| 11. NEW ORLEANS | 409,000 | 308,000 | 101,000 | (24.6%) |
| 12. BALTIMORE | 559,000 | 430,000 | 129,000 | (23%) |
| 13. MEMPHIS | 363,000 | 307,000 | 56,000 | (15.4%) |
| 14. DALLAS | 313,000 | 265,000 | 48,000 | (15.3%) |
| 15. DETROIT | 891,000 | 758,000 | 133,000 | (14.9%) |
| 16. HOUSTON | 513,000 | 439,000 | 74,000 | (14%) |

had been paid to giant manufacturers, and not enough to clever use of venture capital to aid small entrepreneurs. One obvious thought is the development of high tech companies, given the Chicago heritage of Motorola, Zenith, Admiral and Sunbeam. However, even with this history, Chicago is not developing the high tech industries one might expect. Partly this may be due to the lack of hands-on cooperation between Chicago universities and local businesses. The University of Chicago has no engineering school, whereas in Champaign, the University of Illinois turns out more engineers than any other place. The Northwestern/Evanston Research Park is a step in the right direction.

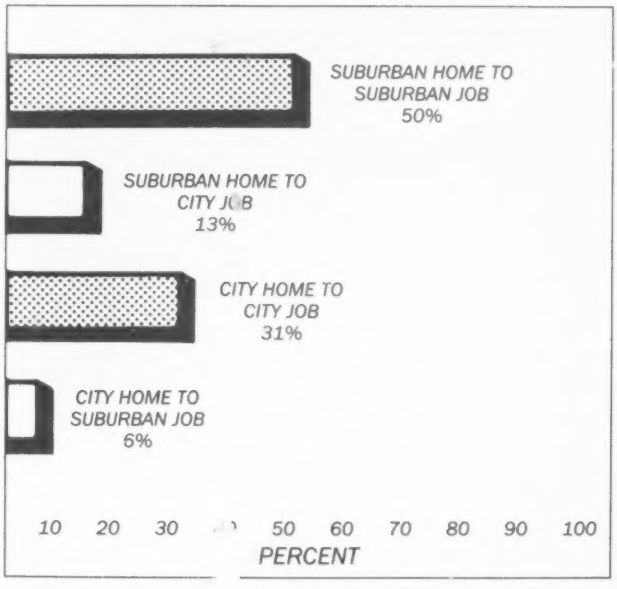
At this point we need to realize an essential difference between Chicago and the other two majors—in Chicago, *almost two-thirds of all income goes to households in the suburbs*, a much higher proportion than in the other major metro areas. Chicago suburbs are rich, well-educated, and unusually white. In *All One System*, I compared the percentage of blacks living in suburbs of major cities, to find that Chicago doesn't make the top sixteen (see above).

If we compare Chicago city with Chicago metro data, it is clear that money, education and jobs have moved to suburban Chicago, but minorities have not! See page five for a few comparisons.

Overall, this means that only about 9 percent of Chicago's black citizens live in suburbs (compared to 69 percent for Miami), while 18 percent of Chicago's Hispanics are suburban. Indeed, Hispanics are Chicago's most rapidly growing group, with Asians not far behind (and almost *half* of Chicago's Asian adults possess a college degree). About 63% of Chicago's Hispanics are Mexican-American, 21% Puerto Rican, and 3% Cuban, with over 10% being from another nationality. The Hispanic population is very young, 76% being under 35, and only 9.6% over 50, compared to 24.9% for the whole Chicago population. Four out of five speak both Spanish and English. While Hispanics are 23% of the Los Angeles market and 15% of New York's, they are only 7% of the Chicago market. Chicago ranks 41st in Hispanic-owned businesses with 4,562. While the number of black-owned businesses was considerable (13,660), the large black population took down the index of businesses per 1,000 blacks.

The movement of jobs to suburbs can be easily tracked by commutation patterns for 1984:

### CHICAGO COMMUTATION PATTERNS—1984


SUBURBAN HOME TO SUBURBAN JOB 50%
SUBURBAN HOME TO CITY JOB 13%
CITY HOME TO CITY JOB 31%
CITY HOME TO SUBURBAN JOB 6%
10 20 30 50 60 70 80 90 100
PERCENT

| | Chicago City | Chicago Metro |
|---|---|---|
| Blacks | 1,197,000 | 1,353,000 (156,000 suburban) |
| Hispanics | 423,000 | 519,000 (96,000 suburban) |
| Percent White | 61% | 91.8% |
| Percent Black | 36% | 6.0% |
| Percent Hispanic | 10.8% | 3.7% |
| College Graduates | 12% | 18% |
| High School Dropouts | 33% | 15% |
| Households under $15,000 | 38% | 13.6% |
| Households over $50,000 | 10% | 24.6% |

If anything, the percentage of suburban jobs has increased in most recent years, especially along the "suburban growth corridors" located on interstate highways from Oak Brook to the Argonne Labs. Suburban jobs are 31% management-professional, compared to 24% for the City, while the low end of the service jobs as well as laborers, are heavily in the City compared to the suburbs. The inability of landlocked minorities to get to these good suburban jobs will continue to be a problem for Chicago. Education for Chicago minority students will do little good until the job structure is accessible to them. Why the Chicago ethnic enclaves are so resistant to diversity is something of a mystery. Westchester County, New York, is now about 12% minority, while Cicero, Illinois has almost exactly the population it had thirty years ago.

In sum, Chicago remains a giant among cities. Its diversified economy remains strong, especially in finance. However, it is weak in job growth, new business starts, and access to job mobility for minorities, especially in the suburbs. For many years, Chicago has depended on the clout of a few big companies to carry the city. Entrepreneurship was not necessary if the big companies could support the economy. Chicago in the Nineties will have to resume the tradition of hard work and creativity that made it a great city in the first place. That means a particular concern with opening access for minorities, in school and work, not out of some liberal ideology but out of a pragmatic urgency.

Let's now turn to the Illinois educational system, which will be followed by a look at Chicago (see page six).

For a state with the 10th highest per capita income in 1986 to rank 20th in per pupil expenditures for the same year suggests a state which is seriously deficient in its support for public education. In addition, Illinois is one of the few states in which elementary school enrollments have not begun to pick up, although the losses are less than in some other states, and will begin to plateau as some increases move into early elementary years and then work their way through the grades. Minority populations are about at the national norm (30%) but are concentrated in the Chicago metro area. Illinois is the only state in the "Heartland" with this high of a minority percentage. Similarly high numbers exist for kids who speak a language other than English at home, and particularly for immigrant children. This diversity (largely in the Chicago area) can become an economic advantage in the future, if the state plays its cards right.

Although one needs warning labels on the tests, ACT scores are about on average for the 28 states using the test, and 63% of students took the test in Illinois in 1987, a reasonable sample, although it tells us nothing about the 40% of high school graduates who did not take the test.

About 15–16 percent of Illinois' children are in a private school setting, well above the national average of 11-12 percent. The reasons for this high figure are not entirely clear, but Chicago runs the third largest parochial school system in the nation, right behind New York and Pennsylvania, which certainly accounts for some of it. In addition, Illinois is one of the few states that has maintained a majority of local funding for public schools, as most have moved increasingly to state financing (and increased state control over school policy). Illinois does a better than average job of locating handicapped children and getting them into special classes to meet their needs.

Illinois' graduation rate, even given the lack of precision of the numbers, could be better, declining from 76.1% in 1982 to the 1986 rate of 75.8%, a period when U.S. schools were increasing from 69.5% to 71.5%. While Illinois remains above the national average, the decline needs to be turned around. The figure for youth in poverty is below the national figure, again a positive sign for the state's future, given the diversity of student background. Most of this diversity is in the Chicago area—there are some areas in the southeastern part of Illinois with very few minorities.

## CHICAGO SCHOOLS

A word needs to be said about the unique aspect of Chicago's schools vis-a-vis the state. We have already commented on the unique feature of Chicago, in that 2/

## ILLINOIS EDUCATION

| | 1981-82 | 1986-87 |
|---|---|---|
| *Elementary Enrollment* | 1,304,192 | 1,249,340 |
| *Secondary Enrollment* | 619,892 | 575,845 |
| *Total Enrollment* | 1,924,084 | 1,825,185 |
| *School Funding:* | | |
| *Federal Sources* | 8.6% | 7.4% |
| *State Sources* | 38.7% | 40.3% |
| *Local Sources* | 52.6% | 52.3% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Enrollment Change, 1980-85* | -7.9% | 39th (U.S.: −3.6%) |
| *Teacher Salary, 1987* | $28,238 | 11th (U.S.: $26,551) |
| *Per Pupil Expenditure, 1987* | $ 3,980 | 20th (U.S.: $ 3,970) |
| *Percent 5-17 Year Olds in Poverty, 1984* | 14.1% | 23rd (U.S.: 15.3%) |
| *Percent Minority, 1987* | 30% | 19th (U.S.: 30%) |
| *(OCR Source, 1984:* 35.3% Minority, 24.8% Black, 8% Hispanic, 2.3% Asian, .1 Native American) | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Percent Handicapped, 1987* | 13.6% | 6th (U.S.: 11%) |
| *Graduation Rate, 1986* | 75.8% | 21st (U.S.: 71.5%) |
| *ACT Mean Score, 1987* | 18.9 | 15th (of 28 states; 63% of seniors took test) |
| *Private School Enrollment, 1980* | 353,066 (281,041 Catholic) | |

3rds of all income goes to households in the suburbs, a far higher figure than either New York or Los Angeles. In addition, we have seen that *jobs* have moved to suburban Chicago very rapidly. We have also seen that minorities in Chicago have had a uniquely difficult time in being able to move to the suburbs.

The most rapidly expanding minority group in Chicago city schools, as well as in its 85 suburban districts that run high schools, is Hispanic, doubling in the city from 10% to 20% from 1970 to 1981, while gaining from 2% to 4% in suburban schools, and from 8% to 16% of Catholic school enrollments during the same period. Hispanics living in the city in 1986 were attending school with 79% minority enrollments, while suburban Hispanics were attending schools with 71% white students. Gary Orfield has pointed out the very high relationship between minority status and poverty in Chicago city schools. He found no predominantly low-income white schools, and no middle-class black or Hispanic schools. A number of virtually all minority inner city high schools lacked basic pre-collegiate courses like physics and foreign languages, and had very small numbers of counselors to assist bright students in preparing for college. As Orfield put it, "...not only were minority students segregated in schools with much greater rates of dropouts and much lower test scores, but even the motivated and talented students who were there were damaged by the loss of vital pre-collegiate resources and opportunities."

From 1967 to 1986, according to Orfield, the Chicago white school enrollment dropped from 41% of the total to *14%* by 1986. He also showed us that when white populations decline in city schools, the schools do not become all black, they tend to become ethnically diverse, adding large numbers of Hispanic and Asian students. Today, Chicago's Hispanic students are even more segregated than the city's black students, suggesting the need for a return to the concerns for equity that began three decades ago. Hispanic fertility rates are high enough to ensure that even more children will enter Chicago schools and be educated in virtual isolation from white and from middle-class populations of whatever ethnic background.

Given the facts about suburban domination of income and jobs, it may be time to consider a form of reorganization similar to the successful Louisville policy of redefining the school district to include suburban populations, a major factor in their successful voluntary school desegregation plan. Minnesota and some other states have begun considering such ideas.

However, as this is written, another solution is at hand, in the form of the Chicago plan, currently under "amendatory veto," an Illinois procedure which allows the Governor, in essence, to enact the legislation while specifying a list of changes which the legislature when it returns in November must either accept with a majority vote, override with 3/5ths, or let the bill die. The Governor's changes are relatively minor considering the urgencies of the schools, but the current bickering suggests the difficulties of major school reform.

The major elements of the plan are the substitution for the current school board of parent-dominated, local school

boards at each school, eliminating life tenure for principals and substituting three-year "performance contracts," and mandating a 25% cut in central school bureaucracy. An oversight committee of seven would be able to monitor the results and impose sanctions if needed. (In his "veto," Governor Thompson insisted on having equal power with Chicago's mayor in naming the members, an idea opposed by Chicago's black legislators.) Although all big city schools get dumped on by their state legislature, the enmity with which Chicago schools are regarded in Springfield is something of a special case. The tax increase which would implement the reform will be withheld until after some results are seen, a circular position at best. In addition, the legislation calls for *no* new educational services for children, like early childhood education or small classes.

The November decision on this issue will be a bellweather for other large city school systems as well. If only the Louisville solution could be applied to Chicago! When suburban schools see their futures directly influenced by the success of inner city schools, then action takes place out of self-interest, one of the most powerful motivators around. The current reform effort, even if implemented, will leave Chicago suburbs almost untouched, free to exploit the advantages of having money, talent and jobs sucked out of downtown and into their admittedly excellent schools. All this while Chicago remains one of the financial capitals of the world!

## ILLINOIS HIGHER EDUCATION

While the schools are in some difficulty, there is no doubt that Illinois has, over the years, built a major system of higher education, diverse and of high quality, including both public and private institutions (see below).

Looking behind some of these numbers, we see a diversified set of institutions with a strong private component. In addition to a large community college effort, Governors State and Sangamon State Universities also serve many older students as a senior college, enrolling only those with two years of higher education completed. The excellence of the University of Chicago, Northwestern and Champaign-Urbana, both in sciences and in humanities, is widely acknowledged. (Chicago brought us the "atom smasher" as well as the Committee on Social Thought!). Two-year institutions of very high quality exist throughout the state. Research and development are well organized in higher education, making the state a good candidate for awards like the MCC and Collider competitions.

Coordination of the state's higher education systems has been very decentralized over the years, until a "superboard" was developed in the Sixties to coordinate the five governing boards. This issue of institutional and governing board autonomy has been around for a long time in Illinois. While funding was excellent during the "glory years" of the Sixties, the late Seventies and on into the Eighties have found some major slowdowns in higher education funding. Higher education is caught on the legislature's decision to withhold increased educational funding until the Chicago school reform issue is resolved. In addition, an unusually high number of faculty have left Illinois higher education because of the failure to raise the state income tax for education, and the consequent lack of raises.

At 22 percent minority students in higher education and 30 percent in public schools, the higher education system could be said to do reasonably well in terms of equity, even though community colleges are doing more than their share. However, some interesting efforts are now underway to attract more talented minorities into schools of

### ILLINOIS HIGHER EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| **Public 4-year institutions** | **12** |
| **Public 2-year institutions** | **47** |
| **Private 4-year institutions** | **91** |
| **Private 2-year institutions** | **13** |
| **Total** | **163** |
| **Public 4-year enrollment** | **195,662** |
| **Public 2-year enrollment** | **334,887** |
| **Private 4-year institutions** | **147,589** |
| **Private 2-year enrollment** | **8,767** |
| **Minority students** | **22%** |
| **Percent minorities in public institutions** | **81.6%** |
| **Percent minorities in private institutions** | **18.4%** |
| **Illinois residents attending Illinois institutions** | **85%** |
| **State funds for higher education operations, 1987** | **$1,331,564,000** |

education to prepare for teaching careers in the schools, and graduate programs are being encouraged to enroll more minorities in doctoral programs aimed toward producing college faculty. The state is fortunate in that it produces more teachers than it can hire (except for bilingual and special education). The state coordinating board is playing a leadership role in these endeavors.

Partly due to the fact that the public "flagship" is located in Champaign-Urbana, higher education in Illinois has not done enough to provide for the educational needs of Chicago, from teachers in their schools to engineers for their corporations, even though the University of Illinois has a large campus located in Chicago. Neither Northwestern nor Chicago have given much thought to their contributions to the enrichment of the Chicago economy, jobs and educational system. Here is an area in which a small effort on the part of Illinois' leading institutions of higher education (including the excellent community college system) could produce major returns for all parts of the state's educational system, in terms of funding, program quality and equity within the state.

# ILLINOIS—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Illinois needs to diversify its economy, both in terms of developing new jobs and in making sure that the jobs are available to those that need them the most. At the moment, there is discouragement among many of Chicago's landlocked minority persons, who see jobs developing in suburbs where they cannot move. Why should they stay in school and get job training for jobs they can't get to? Although this is admittedly a complex issue, one clear effort would be to *develop new jobs and new small businesses in the City of Chicago itself*. This is one area in which Chicago's business, education and political communities could clearly move together. Both black and Hispanic business ventures could be increased significantly without major infusions of new capital. There is a need for more success models for kids in the city itself.
2. The existing Chicago school reform legislation will either stand or fall in November, 1988. Regardless of the decision, there needs to be a commonly held recognition that a disproportionately high level of economic benefit goes to Chicago's suburbs. Just as Louisville's desegregation strategy revolves on a reformulation of the school district to *include* suburbs, some similar effort needs to be considered in Chicago. The Chicagoland superintendents meet each year in splendid suburban isolation, proud of their admittedly excellent school systems. Little if any attention is given at their meetings to the needs of the city without which there would be no suburbs. There needs to be created a metropolitan Chicago school organization, representative of *all* interests in the metro area, including suburbs and core city as well. The basic problem is a perceptual one, in that people do not tend to think of city and suburb as having any relationship.
3. In addition to beginning a program to develop new jobs and businesses in Chicago, other efforts will be needed to open up Chicago's suburbs to minorities. If Miami can manage over 60% black suburban populations, Chicago can certainly do better than 9%. If some jobs started moving toward the city, and some minority city dwellers had a chance to move to the suburbs, the combination might be highly effective.
4. A major problem for the state is the very large number of very small school districts, two-thirds of which are under 1,000 students and nearly one half are under 200. Illinois ranks third in total school districts, many of which are too small to function well, and are very expensive in per student cost, some consolidation of these tiny districts is clearly in order.
5. Chicago's universities and colleges, excellent though they are, have not done much to improve the city in which they reside. Cooperation between the University of Chicago and Argonne Labs has been excellent, but has not improved the city to any appreciable degree. In teacher training and in engineering, Champaign-Urbana's formidable resources also need to be brought into the fray. There is a real sense in which Springfield has virtually written off Chicago as "money down the rathole," and that perception is communicated very effectively throughout the state. The state's many resources—fiscal and human—need to be integrated in the service of the people who need services the most. (One program, *Parents Too Soon*, was cleverly funded by the state to each of three state agencies, which were forced to develop the program together, a salutary and useful innovation which other states should pick up on.) With a stable (and therefore aging) population, the state needs to develop educational programs that *create* winners, not just *pick* them. Every child in Illinois needs to succeed in school and at work if Illinois' economy and quality of life are to get back on track. The tradition of which Carl Sandberg wrote—diversity, hard work, opportunity for all who aspired for a better life in the future—may need to be reinvigorated for our time and conditions.

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# ILLINOIS—SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. Illinois is a very large state which combines aspects of the Great Lakes (manufacturing, big cities, ethnic diversity) with those of the Great Plains (major farming base, small towns, low diversity). The second largest metro area is now St. Louis, which is moving eastward, while the Chicago metro actually combines Gary and Kenosha.
2. Even with the very large and successful farming operations in the southern part of the state, it is Chicago and its 9 million people buying $75 billion in goods and services each year that dominates the state's economy. While the state suffered a very large decline in manufacturing jobs, Chicago's strong showing in finance has helped the state ride out the 1982 Recession in reasonably good shape. A major problem is the rapid increase in low-paying service sector jobs throughout the state.
3. One quarter of all babies born in the state are born out of wedlock. As is usually the case, a high rate of infant mortality and handicapped kids are accompanying factors.
4. In Chicago, a major problem is the number of jobs that are moving to the suburbs, given the fact that minorities in Chicago have a strikingly low rate of access to suburban housing. With white enrollment in Chicago city schools at 14 percent, good jobs in the suburbs, landlocked minorities in Chicago have no clear path to better themselves, particularly because of the low level of college preparation in many Chicago high schools. The city could become a place where most residents will be rich or poor, with the middle classes all in the suburbs.
5. Because of its greater diversification, Illinois' economy has some built-in advantages over those of other Great Lakes states like Ohio and Michigan. However, Illinois is behind both states in the generation of new jobs, particularly those in the middle income area. This could become a severe problem in the next decade.
6. Given the fact that jobs and wealth have moved to the suburbs, the current "Chicago Reform" totally ignores the facts. To provide funding increases for a reform movement only after it has demonstrated success seems political in the worst sense. If the Governor and Legislature could stop playing games, the essence of the reforms—to bring schools back to neighborhood control and autonomy—could have some significant effects.
7. For those who do graduate from high school, Illinois has a remarkably diverse system of higher education waiting. Although funding has been inconsistent in recent years, the system still works well, even though it seems to ignore the City of Chicago.
8. Currently Illinois has a very stable population with few people moving in or out. (Of those moving in, a very large percentage are Hispanic, with Asian increases already underway.) Its economy is stabilized but not developing much, except in suburban growth corridors where very few minorities live. There is a need to get the state moving ahead, both in the areas of economic development and equity.

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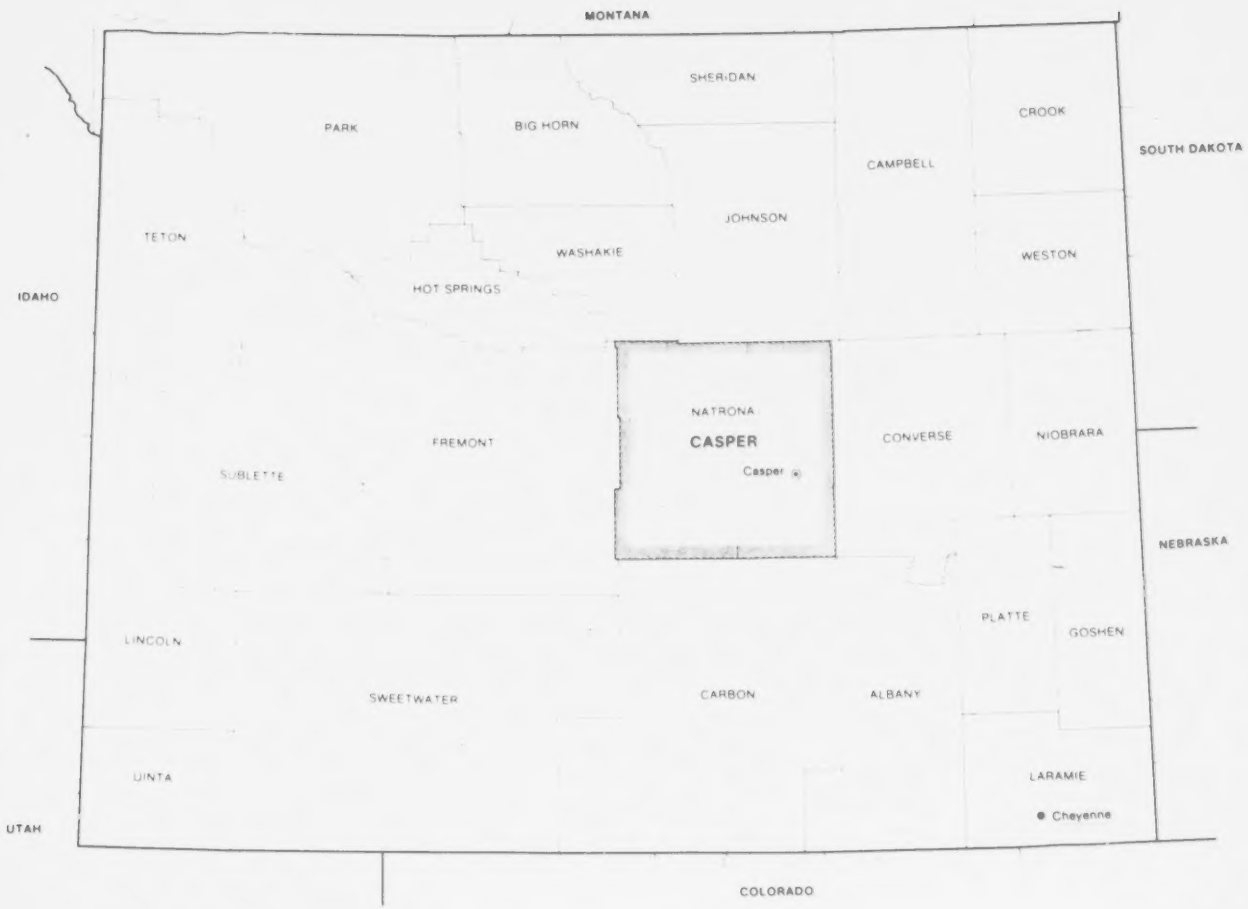
# WYOMING:




## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

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Decisions about what data to use, and what interpretations of the data are selected, are the responsibility of the author.

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**COVER NOTE:**

This unusual map of Wyoming shows how the state looks demographically. Its one metropolitan area, Casper, stands out in lonely splendor. Counties of Teton and Park suggest the tourism that supports the northwest area of the state. Lots of land and very few people give ~~the state its~~ particular quality. "People maps" like this one are becoming increasingly useful to politicians and marketers of products and services—even to educators!

# WYOMING:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

**HAROLD L. HODGKINSON**
Director
Center for Demographic Policy
Institute for Educational Leadership

# WYOMING—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

For most Americans, Wyoming is a state to pass through, with stops in the Tetons or Yellowstone. Most of the residents seem to like that arrangement just fine. (Remember that there are only 5 people per square mile in Wyoming, compared to New Jersey's 1,027!) The climate can be severe, the work is hard. One is reminded of the line from Yeats—"This is no country for old men." As with all mountain states, Wyoming's people are a fiercely independent lot. A statewide meeting in Montana or Wyoming (the author has spoken at both) is more like a town meeting in Des Moines—virtually everybody in the state knows everybody. A statewide school administrators meeting will find most of the audience knowing the others by their first names *without* looking at their name tags!

Wyoming's future is almost totally linked to energy, in that the state sits on some of the most formidable resources in the world in terms of coal, gas and oil. (Some have estimated that if we had to, we could meet all of the nation's energy needs for a century by digging all of the coal out of Wyoming, which would not make people very happy in West Virginia and Kentucky.) No state has a greater dependence on energy income than Wyoming. Given the past, present and likely future of energy prices, Wyoming's economy may continue to resemble a roller-coaster, zooming from boom (as in the Seventies) to bust (as in the Eighties). During the boom Seventies the population grew from 332,000 to 470,000, up about 40 percent. During the bust of 1980-1987 the population increased 4 percent. Workers attracted to booms often stay on during busts, with little work for them to do.

Although there is talk of a diversifying economy, manufacturing is a tough sell, given transportation costs. Even ranching (and both Montana and Wyoming are proud of the fact that each state has far more cattle than people) has a limited amount of expansion in that each animal needs a vast range to survive on sparse grasslands. In addition, about half of Wyoming is owned by the federal government, and energy leases are heavily owned by "absentee landlords" who live on the East or West Coast. To get more benefit for state residents, Wyoming, like Montana, passed a mineral severance tax in the late Sixties. Today this severance tax is a major source of revenue for state government.

There is considerable potential for the further expansion of chemical extraction and refinement in Southwestern Wyoming, not in energy but in sulfur, soda ash (trona) and other processing chemicals. Presently, large orders from Asian companies in businesses like window glass are being received by several companies, while Chevron has a large fertilizer plant in Rock Springs. Uranium is also plentiful.

The only part of the economy with growth potential is tourism, although the jobs it produces are usually not well paid. Again, growth in tourism produces some declines in quality of life, as interpreted by the right to live 50 miles away from the next ranch. Rapid increases in dude ranches and accompanying fast food restaurants, gas stations, bars, etc., may not be a good bargain for Wyoming residents. The limited amount of manufacturing is dependent on the manufacture of drilling and extractive equipment for the energy industry. Soil levels are neither deep nor rich enough to promote much in the way of agriculture. (It is possible that as the country has more garbage, from nuclear to coffee grounds, the ante will be raised in states like Wyoming, Montana and Utah to allow more of their vast lands to be used as dump sites. Eventually, the fees will be high enough to attract the attention of any political leader, although the trade-offs could be very serious.)

Most Wyomingites have made their peace with the environment or have moved on. There is a single culture to the state, complete with gun racks on pick-up trucks, hunting for food not just for sport, very close personal friendships plus the independence and distrust of all forms of big government we have mentioned. For those who like *only* vast stretches of shockingly beautiful wilderness, this is the best place in the nation to live.

Let's look now at some state comparison data to get a better sense of how Wyoming fits in.

This statistical portrait reveals a state with the smallest population spread over a large land mass with few people in each square mile. The population expanded rapidly

## A WYOMING PROFILE

| | |
|---|---|
| 1970 Population | 332,416 |
| 1980 Population | 469,557 |
| 1987 Population | 490,000 (50th) |
| Population Change, 1980-87 | + 4.4% (28th—U.S. +7.4%) |
| People per square mile | 5 (49th—U.S. 69) |
| 1980 Black Population | 3,364 (0.7%) |
| 1988 Black Population (est.) | 4,000 |
| Hispanic Population, 1980 | 24,499 (5.2%, 10,605 in 1970) |
| Asian Population, 1980 | 1,969 (0.4%) |
| Native American Population plus other, 1980 | 17,736 (3.8%) |
| 1986 Persons under age 18 | 30.5% (5th—U.S. 26.2%) |
| 1986 Persons over age 65 | 8.4% (48th—U.S. 12.1%) |
| 1986 Living in Metro Areas | 28.8% (46th—U.S. 76.6%) |
| 1986 Birth Rate | 18.4 (6th—U.S. 15.8) |
| 1986 Births to Teenage Mothers | 11.6% (26th—U.S. 12.7%) |
| 1986 Births to Unmarried Mothers | 13.3% (47th—U.S. 22%) |
| 1986 Abortions per 1,000 women | 7.9 (50th—U.S. 28.0) |
| 1985 Infant Mortality | 12.2 ( 6th—U.S. 10.6) |
| 1986 Crime Rate per 100,000 | 4,357 (32nd—U.S. 5,480) |
| 1986 Prisoners per 100,000 | 170.6 (28th—U.S. 226.8) |
| Prisoners Change, 1980-86 | +62.8% (28th—U.S. + 65.7%) |
| 1985 General Expenditures per capita | $4,166 (2nd—U.S. $2,313) |
| Food Stamp Eligibles, 1986 | 55.2 per 1,000 (38th-U.S. 78.9) |
| Manufacturing Jobs, 1980-86 | −16.7% (45th—U.S. -6.4%) |
| Service Jobs, 1980-86 | +9.3% (50th—U.S. +29.1%) |
| Personal Income Change, 1985-86 | −1.7% (50th—U.S. +6.3%) |
| 1986 Motor Vehicles per 1,000 | 1,000 (1st—U.S. 732) |
| 1986 Accidental Deaths per 100,000 | 28.4 (4th—U.S. 19.3) |
| Retail Sales per capita 1982-86 | +37.5% (18th—U.S. +33.3%) |
| Housing Starts, change 1985-86 | −29.4% (44th—U.S. + 3.6%) |

during the boom days of the 1970's and has grown little during the 1980's. The state's minority populations are well below the national percentages, especially for blacks. Comparatively large Hispanic and Native American populations are present and growing, but total minority populations are only about ten percent of the state's population. (Poverty problems of Native Americans are very severe, and often ignored.) The population is very young, leading to a high fertility rate and very few elderly citizens for which to provide services. Except for minorities, young people tend not to be born "at risk" (poverty, illegitimacy, teen-age mothers) compared to the nation, where one of every five children are born out of marriage. However, continued high rates of unemployment will clearly increase the number of at-risk kids. Most people do not live in metropolitan areas, but neither are they truly in ranches 50 miles apart. Rather, they clump in small villages that they usually call "cities."

Family life is quite "conventional" with a small percentage of women in the work force, a small number of births to teenage mothers and to unmarried mothers, as well as very low abortion rates. However, the infant death rate is high, due in part to the shortage of doctors spread out over the state's wide area. It may be that many citizens go out of state for medical services, including abortions.

Although there are many stories about robberies and murder, crime rates are actually quite low, and the increase in prisoners of about 60 percent since 1980 is about at the national average. Dollars of government expenditure per capita are quite high, especially when considering the small number and percentage eligible for Food Stamp programs. (A very large share of these dollars come from severance and other non-personal income taxes.)

In terms of jobs, the state's record has been alarming since 1980. Wyoming lost a higher percentage of manufacturing jobs and gained a smaller percentage of service jobs than did almost every other state. The state ranked 50th in gain in personal income. On the other hand, Wyoming leads the nation in motor vehicles per capita—*there is one car for every person in the state, even for children and others who can't drive them!* It seems that almost everyone owns a car and a truck. Because of this high use of cars, guns and alcohol, Wyoming has a very high rate of accidental deaths. While retail sales seem to be holding, housing starts took a nose dive in recent years, consistent with the sudden stop in inmigration. Partly because of the sharp decline in people moving in, and the severance tax already mentioned, there seems to be considerable amounts of government money per capita, even though personal income has not increased. After enjoying very low rates of unemployment during the boom years, the 1986 rate was hovering around 9 percent, eighth highest in the nation.

Wyoming's only metro area is Casper, comprising Natrona County located in the central part of the state very near the huge Teapot Dome oil reserve. With fewer than 66,000 residents, Casper is the smallest of the 100 metro areas in the U.S., and has declined almost 4 percent each year from 1983 to 1987. Jobs have declined over 5 percent a year in the same period. The labor force is currently about 32,300, the smallest of any metro area. During 1987, Casper had the sixth highest unemployment rate of any metro. The metro is 96.5 percent white. With the possible exception of potatoes, Casper seems prepared to dig anything else out of the ground and sell it, if only a buyer could be found. Until some energy pricing goes up, there is little to do. Although it is not a metro area, Cheyenne is a significant Wyoming city, with a number of government workers and an Air Force base. However, the employment base is unlikely to expand.

In addition, the jobs generated by tourism are usually not well paying. In some ways, they dominate the Wyoming economy:

**WHO DOES WHAT IN WYOMING?**

| | |
|---|---|
| Financial Managers | 500 |
| Engineers, Total | 2,900 |
| Doctors | 500 |
| Veterinarians | 100 |
| Lawyers | 800 |
| Computer Programmers | 200 |
| * * * * | |
| Fast Food Workers | 10,900 |
| Janitors | 6,800 |
| Laborers, Equipment Cleaners | 10,500 |

(Department of Labor, *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1986)

Yet, there is a bright side to Casper and Wyoming's future. First, it is very likely, given our own tendency to buy gas guzzlers during periods of energy glut, that energy prices will go up again sometime in the next decade, regardless of OPEC's ability to get its act together. (Even this kind of prediction makes the author uneasy—demographic trends are so much more predictable!) In addition, the Casper work force is very well-educated; virtually all adults have a high school diploma, and 40 percent have attended college. A large percentage of jobs in energy extraction, plus the financial service, business service and other support businesses, require considerable knowledge. In addition, Casper is well-situated in terms of air, rail and highway access. Being basically the only city in the state, retail and wholesale trade in Casper is quite high (mostly in the *city* of Casper), even with recent declines. The metro has good access, very high quality of life in terms of recreation, museums, and two institutions of higher education, while state and local individual tax rates, as well as housing costs, are among the lowest in the nation.

The problem with this bright side, which applies equally to Casper and to the state, is the lack of diversification. As long as this continues—and there is no evidence to the contrary—the metro and state will be dependent on one industry and its supporting operations. Even with another boom in the future, it is easy to predict another bust after that. Few businesses will want to locate in an area with that much volatility. Rather than actively creating and protecting its future, Wyoming seems to be sitting around waiting for something wonderful to happen.

Let's now look at how the Wyoming educational system fits into this context.

## Wyoming's Educational System

As one might expect, the educational data for the state reflect the tendencies we have already noted.

If one were to look for an ideal "recipe" for a state's educational system, it might have these characteristics: small classes, high dollar investment in each student, good teacher salaries, equal funding responsibility between state and local governments, low levels of youth poverty, small communities in which kids can't easily "fall between the cracks."

These characteristics are typical of Wyoming's educational system, and the results, in terms of graduation rates (10th highest in the nation in 1987) and performance on the ACT, are nothing short of stellar. In addition, these graduation data from the U.S. Department of Education have taken into account interstate migration. (The only negative interpretation might be that with very high rates of unemployment, few young people will leave school, as there is nothing for them to do.) In addition, little is known about the performance of those children who are minority, in poverty households, not living with both parents, etc.

Although ACT scores do not tell the whole story (62.7 percent of Wyoming's graduates were tested, leaving 38 percent for whom the results are not useful), it is still very impressive that Wyoming was *first* in the "high end" students who score over 26, as well as 4th in mean scores. Having fairly stable families and a low level of childhood poverty undoubtedly helped. To the degree that money was involved, these results were accomplished more by left-over energy money than by heavy personal income tax dollars.

Lynn Simons, Wyoming Superintendent of Public Instruction, has developed some excellent programs at the state level to reward high achieving schools (the "Superschools" program), as well as some very useful advice to local schools on how to prevent "at-risk" young people from leaving school. One would expect the *number* of at-risk kids to be small in our smallest state population, but the *percentages* are low as well. It might have been useful to present more information about the problems of being Hispanic or Native American or poor, in that these are major determinants of youth failure in the state. The materials also recognize that alcoholism and suicide are problems that can affect *any* family member. But the material is well done, and it is always wise to stay ahead of youth problems whenever possible.

Here is an oddity. We have found a state in which the

### WYOMING SCHOOL PROFILE

| | |
|---|---|
| Fall, 1970 Enrollment | 87,000 (49th) |
| Fall, 1982 Enrollment | 107,000 (46th) |
| Fall, 1987 Enrollment | 98,455 (48th) |
| Enrollment Change, 1980-85 | +5.1% (5th in growth) |
| Enrollment Change, 1986-87 | −2.48% (51st in growth) |
| Pupil-Teacher Ratio, 1986 | 14:4 (1:15 in 1981) |
| Teacher Salary, Fall, 1987 | $28,103 (12th-U.S. $26,551) |
| Per Pupil Expenditure, 1987 | $ 6,229 (3rd-U.S. $3,970) |

| *School funding:* | 1981 | 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Federal | 6.6% | 2.6% |
| State | 29.1% | 41.1% |
| Local | 64.3% | 56.3% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Private School Enrollment, Fall, 1980 | 3,036 |
| Catholic School Enrollment, Fall, 1980 | 1,387 |
| Percent of 1978 9th graders graduating in 1982 | 72.4% (25th-U.S. 69%) |
| Percent of 1982 9th graders graduating in 1986 | 81.2% (10th-U.S. 71%) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Per Capita Income, 1986 | $12,781 (35th U.S. $14,641) |
| Percent Poverty, ages 5-17 | 7.5% (51st including D.C., U.S. 15.3%) |
| Minority Enrollment, 1987 | 9.7% (39th-U.S. 30%) Hispanic 6.4%, Native American 1.8%, Black 0.9%, Asian 0.7% |
| ACT Mean Score, 1982(caution!) | 19.2 |
| ACT Mean Score, 1987(caution!) | 19.9 (4th of 28 states in ACT) |
| Percent Scoring 26 and Over, 1987 | 7.8% (1st of 28 states) |

educational system is clearly outperforming the economy! There are several factors leading to this happy turn of events. First, the age demographics of the population suggest that the state can concentrate resources on education to an unusual degree, as the number of elderly is low, and they often require expensive services.

In addition, the increase in prisoners in the state has been comparatively low. No person is as expensive as a prisoner, by the way. While we are currently spending about $3,700 per public school student in the U.S., we average $23,000 per prisoner in our jails! (Imagine what schools we could run if we had $23,000 per student.) The relationship between the two is important, in that 80 percent of all prisoners in the nation are high school dropouts. Obviously, if all young people graduated from high school we could not shut our prisons entirely, but a 20 percent reduction in prisoners would free up an enormous amount of capital for other purposes. Head Start is one program that has already demonstrated that it has the ability to reduce prison populations, as well as welfare recipients, while increasing the number of high school graduates and college students, as well as employed, taxpaying citizens! Indeed, a dollar spent in Head Start saves $7 in later services that do not need to be provided—like jails.

Before we allow Wyomingites to wallow in self-congratulations, it might be advisable to survey the future to some degree. Until energy prices come back—and that may be a number of years—the state's number and percentage of children at risk can go up very rapidly. In addition, the *intensity* of poverty is likely to increase in a state whose economy is shutting down ever more jobs. Minority students, although a small percentage of the total, could expand very quickly if white parents move out, leaving "landlocked" minority populations. In addition, continuing high unemployment and its attendant sense of futility could begin to reduce the apparently high quality of family life, with increases in violence, drug usage, suicides and divorces. Again, because the state's population is small, you really need *every* kid to succeed. It is unlikely that the 17,000 Native Americans in Wyoming are truly fulfilling their potential—this is the most at risk, and most ignored, population in the state. A small increase in social pathology can have large consequences in Wyoming.

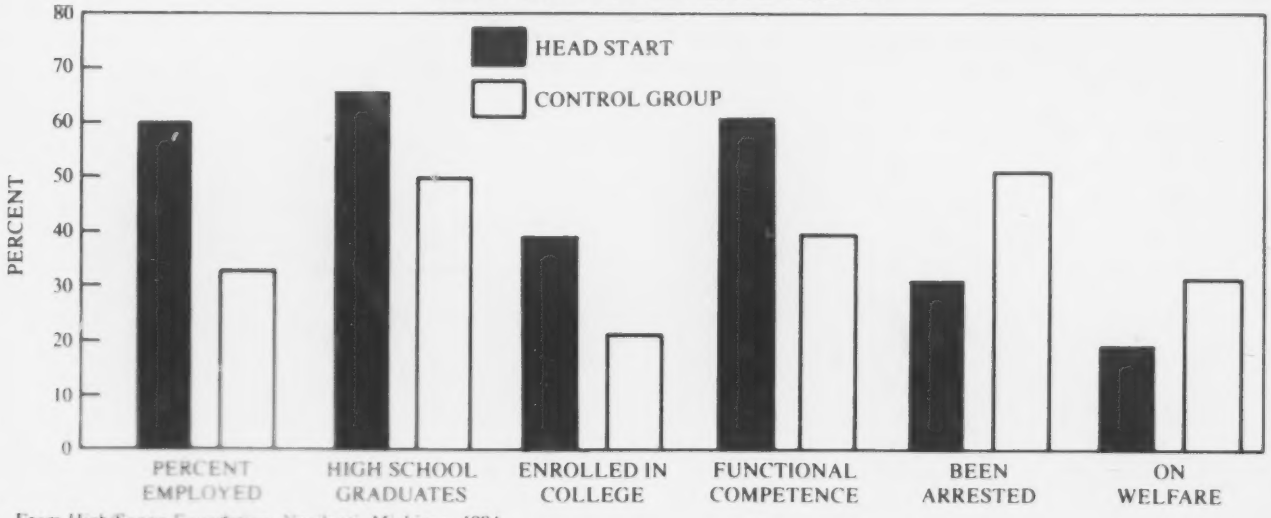
Because the educational system seems to be ahead of the state, it may be opportune to suggest that the educational system can be a leader in bringing the state toward economic independence. We will so argue in the final section of this report.

## WYOMING'S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

In a big state with few people, how do you make sure that every citizen has access to higher education? One answer is, you don't. Wyoming has only one four-year institution (the University of Wyoming in Laramie) and if you want a BA, you have to go to *it*. Is this short-sighted? Yes and no—the *Chronicle of Higher Education* in its special Almanac issue in September 1988 said, "Wyoming . . . is the envy of some of its financially strapped neighbors, which must stretch their higher-education dollars to support multiple-university systems. In rough budget years, higher education officials elsewhere in the West have been heard to lament that Wyoming was smart." However, excellent cooperation between the University and community colleges has resulted in the delivery of many four-year programs, expecially in nursing and elementary education, at a number of sites around the state.

However, when times are tough (as they currently are in Wyoming), the continuing necessity for increased funding of higher education can become a major problem. In that situation, it is easier to maintain funding to *one* university than to a complex system of them, supporting the Chronicle's position. Let's take a look at the higher education system in numbers:

**HEAD START CHILDREN AT AGE 19**




From High/Scope Foundation, Ypsilanti, Michigan, 1984

## WYOMING HIGHER EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Public, four-year institutions | 1 |
| Public, two-year institutions | 7 |
| Private, four-year institutions | 0 |
| Private, two-year institutions | 1 |
| Total | 9 |
| Vocational institutions | 14 |
| Enrollment, public four-year, 1986–87 | 9,980 |
| Enrollment, public two-year, 1986–87 | 13,755 |
| Enrollment, private two-year, 1986–87 | 622 |
| Total | 24,357 |
| Women Enrolled | 52.5% |
| Full-time Enrollment | 58.0% |
| Minority Student Enrollment | 4.9% |
| Enrollment Change, 1976—1986 | + 27.0% |
| Public 4 year tuition and fees (average) | $778 |
| Public 4 year room charge | $1,088 |
| Public 2 year tuition and fees (average) | $516 |
| Expenditures for higher education | $203,307,000 |
| State funds for higher education operating costs | $114,188,000 |

(All Data from *Almanac*, Chronicle of Higher Education, September, 1988.)

Given the fact that Wyoming's schools graduate about 6,000 students a year, the percentage who do go on to college would seem to be reasonably high. In addition, tuition and fees are certainly proportionately low, which probably is why 76 percent of Wyoming's residents who go on to higher education go to college in their own state. (As a member of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Wyoming citizens can take advantage of reciprocal arrangements with member states.) Faculty salaries, at $36,000 in the University and $27,000 in community colleges for full time positions, are on the low side but border on the reasonable for a small state. The system also seems to be attractive to the state's small minority populations. However, only 24 percent of faculty are female at the public institutions, and no data are available on minority faculty.

The state's community colleges do provide for some regional diversification of higher education programs, but given the ambiguities of the state's economy and work force, it is hard to see how coherent the community college curricula can be, and how well people can be prepared for jobs which may not exist. In addition, it seems likely that in times of financial distress, the community colleges would be under pressure to absorb heavy financial reductions.

In sum, it would appear that at least a few years of hard times are ahead for Wyoming higher education. Public school funding contains a large share of local dollars, which can counter state fiscal declines due in part to severance dollar decline. Higher education has only the (unpopular) option of raising tuition as a revenue enhancer. Although the initial pressure will be on the community colleges, the ripples will quickly move to the University of Wyoming. At 7,200 feet above sea level, the University claims to be the highest university in the nation, but that is unlikely to be as true of dollars as it is of altitude.

# MAJOR CONCLUSIONS

Wyoming is a state with wonderful scenery, a way of life which borders on the unique and should be preserved, and an economy which is almost totally dependent on energy extraction. Small populations make "boutique" products and services not very profitable, and efforts to diversify the state's economy into "tech" manufacturing and high-end services have not been successful. Yet Wyoming citizens are young and well-educated, a very important state resource. The following might offer some cohesion to efforts to enhance the state's future:

1. Presently, there is the chance that a significant chemical industry can be created in southwest Wyoming where large amounts of sulfur, soda ash and other chemicals related to glassmaking are located. Asian nations are likely markets. There is only one additional part of the Wyoming economy that can be intentionally expanded at present, and that is tourism. In the world, there will be almost one billion new members of the middle class (defined as having discretionary income) by the year 2000. For most of them, America is the "nation of nations" and represents a romantic attraction. But when it comes to cowboys, the fascination of most peoples of the world knows no bounds. Large numbers of international tourists are bicoastal—probably fifty fly over Wyoming for every one that stops. Even though the jobs created by tourism (hotel maids, janitors, fast food workers, bus drivers) do not pay well, there are related businesses that do. (In Montana, one enterprising firm is now making custom tailored cowboy hats, starting at $300. No cowboy could possibly afford a hat at that price, but an infinite number of Asian tourists can pay that much and will.)
2. Related to a major push in upper-middle class international tourism should be an effort to promote small business starts owned by Wyoming citizens. The Small Business Development Center at Casper Community College, with locations at the other higher education institutions as well, has some potential in this area. Serious planning efforts should get underway to exploit the business opportunities which lie upstream and downstream of tourism, from financial and business services to museum and exhibition planning. Through time, this strategy could provide new and fulfilling opportunities for businesses owned by Wyoming citizens. It is vital that the state develop its own businesses to eliminate the previous ills of absentee landlords.
3. If the economic crunch continues, which is likely for the next several years, Wyoming is very likely to see an increase in family pathology, from violence against family members to major drug use by high school students to suicides. It is crucial that Wyoming's schools work to prevent that from happening to the state's young people. It is commonly known that high rates of unemployment can contribute to the situations we have just mentioned. Better linkage of the schools with other youth serving agencies and more effective liaison between schools and parents should be established now to forestall future problems. In addition, the excellent materials coming from the Superintendent of Education's office should be the basis of a statewide effort to hold down the increases in children at risk. In addition, present poverty and minority youth could be better targetted.
4. In Wyoming particularly, the schools and community colleges need to work together to develop some new programs of vocational training, starting at the junior high or middle school years and coordinated through the community colleges for advancement and retraining, particularly around tourism-related activity. Effective programs on starting small businesses could be an important factor in such programs. The result could be better trained workers as well as an increase in small businesses that had a good chance of succeeding. (Most new jobs come not from Fortune Five Hundred Companies, which lose more jobs than they create. Rather they come from newly organized small businesses with 20 or so employees.) There are excellent examples of states that have increased tourism income without selling out to developers, maintaining natural beauty and a high quality of life for residents. These should be the models for Wyoming's future.

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# WYOMING—SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

Wyoming is a state of great natural beauty, five people per square mile, and an economy almost completely dependent on energy extraction, an area that has not done well of late. Rather than hustling around to guarantee that Wyoming's future will *not* be dependent on energy interests alone, there is a tendency for Wyoming's people to be fatalistic—they seem to hang around, waiting for something wonderful to happen. They are very dedicated to a way of life that stresses individualism, maintaining the environment, hunting and fishing for food as well as sport, pickup trucks and rifle racks. A state meeting is like a small town meeting in most other states—everyone in Wyoming seems to know everyone else. Friendships are deep and long lasting.

The schools are doing very well in most measures—high school graduation rates, ACT scores, low percentages of children at risk, relatively stable families, high amounts of money spent per child (even though a lot of this comes from energy severance taxes, not personal income). However, if energy prices stay depressed as they are likely to do for awhile, the state has no back-up economy, and rates of family pathology are likely to increase as they generally do in unemployed households. Additional efforts need to be made to support poverty and minority children.

The higher education system in Wyoming is simple—one four-year degree granting university and seven community colleges. Rates of college-going seem reasonably high, and most residents go to college in their own state, where college costs are something of a bargain. Several more years of economic declines could push the higher education system to some dangerous decisions, due to the inflexibility of financial resources.

Some serious efforts need to be made to diversify the state's economic base, including the encouragement of new small businesses owned and operated by Wyoming residents, the promotion of a kind of tourism that would be profitable and would not damage the ecology, and perhaps more effective interstate relationships that would allow more effective sharing of resources.

In general, Wyoming's people are not in charge of their future as much as they would like to be. Neither agriculture nor ranching can provide much more diversification of economic resources, while some chemical products have significant promise. Tourism is the only current source of economic diversity, and it does provide a base to build upon.

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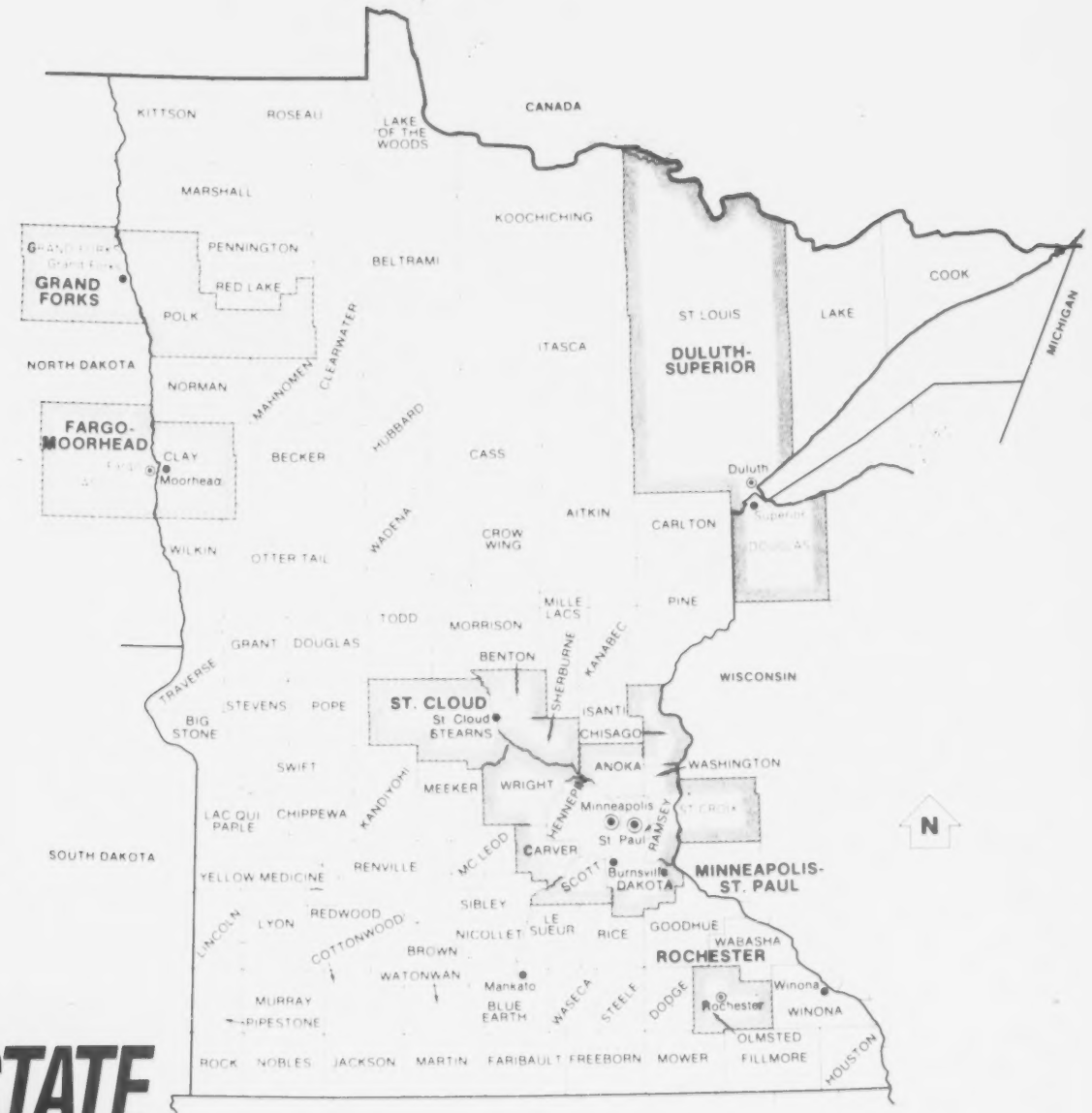
# MINNESOTA:




# *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

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THE INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC.

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These reports could not be produced without the excellent work of Louise Clarke, Chief Administrative Officer at IEL, and Tony Browder's graphics.

Finally, I need to pay tribute to my sister, Molly LaBerge, Director, COMPAS, lifelong resident and supporter of Minnesota, who has added much to my knowledge of the state and its educational system.

The selection and interpretation of information used in this report, however, remain the responsibility of the author.

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**COVER NOTE:**

This "people map" of Minnesota shows some very interesting things. First is the linking of state populations to North Dakota, and even more importantly, to Wisconsin. One can *begin* to see the emergence of a density corridor from Rochester to St. Cloud, although the baby has not been born yet. Although half of Minnesota is in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metro, about a third of the state's population does not live in metro areas at all. Rural life is alive and well. These people maps are the equivalent of rivers and roads on a normal map, and are useful to planners, marketers of goods and services, and, increasingly, to educators!

# MINNESOTA:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

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# MINNESOTA—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Normally, when doing a state profile, one tries to begin by saying some highly complimentary thing. Generally the one thing has to do with good housing in peaceful neighborhoods, cultural activities, recreational opportunities close to home, efficient transportation systems with few jam-ups, job opportunities, good schools, low crime rates, good health care, etc. Minnesota's "problem" is that it scores very high in *all* of these dimensions of quality of life, leaving an analyst to search for something bad to say to balance out the picture. The obvious choice is weather, but actually many states have worse. (As one who grew up in the state, I never minded the winters as much as the summer mosquitoes which were large enough and numerous enough to carry away small children and middle-size dogs. You can't have 10,000 lakes without also having 10,000 mosquitoes per capita.) If one wants to feel really cold outdoors, your best bet is the lakeshore in Chicago. If an objective negative measure is desired, the only clear choice is that Minnesota ranks either second or third in Radon, a heritage from glacial times.

If the weather is so bad, why does Minnesota normally beat the nation in terms of registered voters showing up at the polls? Even with both Minneapolis and St. Paul public schools approaching "minority majorities," the state nevertheless beats the nation in the percentage of youth who graduate from high school. One cannot conceive of a spoils system taking control of Minnesota politics—the tradition of independent political decisions made by the voter carries through to a legislature unusually dedicated to carrying out the public will and providing high quality public services. Minnesota is simply an activist state—from attending plays and concerts at the Guthrie and Ordway Theatres, to "the cabin at the lake" where most Minnesotans hunt and fish very energetically, to the winter and summer festivals which attract much of the population, to the voting booth—it's all the same phenomenon: energetic, involved citizens. Cynicism and passivity, especially about politics, are not Minnesota traditions. Reactions to the 1988 difficulties at the University of Minnesota were disbelief and shock, not the Eastern version of "I told you so" or "What can you expect?"

There is a small mystery to this—if life is so magnificent in Minnesota, why do so few people move in? Weather, fairly high taxes and housing costs are usually given as the answer, but it may well be that there is more to the story. Corporations move into the state quite regularly, but Minnesotans often have a paranoia that these same corporations will leave. What's behind this? Although unemployment rates in the state are very low, small towns around Hibbing continue to have massive unemployment. Why do these rates continue to stay so very high? And for a state that prides itself on its middle-class majority of all ethnic backgrounds, why is Franklin Avenue still a problem area for Native Americans and immigrants? (It is also the home of the American Indian Business Development Corporation, but the problems remain.)

Our task here is not to evaluate the state, but rather to comprehend its demographic realities, the context for its educational system. In order to do this, we need to look first at some basic data on the state, using national data sources for comparisons when possible. (See page 2.)

If one were to try to weave a tapestry from these statistical threads, it would look something like this: Minnesota is a mid-sized state with a very large population of native born people, a very high percentage of people in the work force, a very small amount of ethnic diversity except in the Twin Cities metro, a comparatively large rural population (particularly for Swedish residents), and comfortable population densities which allow people to know each other yet have enough "marketing mass" to support a variety of goods and services.

In terms of problems, births to teenage mothers are the lowest percentage in the nation, rates of births to unmarried parents are very low, as is infant mortality in the first year of life, due to the large number of physicians and their dispersion throughout the state. The state is a little below average on crimes and 50th on prisoners, with a very small increase in prisoners since 1980, about one third of the national increase. This frees a large number of tax dollars, as we spend almost $24,000 a year on each prisoner in the U.S., a larger number of tax dollars than is spent on any other major client group. Think of the schools we could run if we had $24,000 per child, against our current national level of $3,970! (Each Minnesota prisoner uses enough money to prevent seven children from participating in a Head Start program, or six young people from attending a state college. In Pennsylvania, it

## A MINNESOTA PROFILE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1987 Population | 4,246,000 | 21st |
| Population Change, 1980-87 | +4.2% | 30th |
| 1987 People per Square Mile | 53 | 32nd (New Jersey: 1,027) |
| 1986 Metro Population | 65.8% | 28th |
| 1980 Born in Another State | 25.3% | 41st |
| 1987 Population Under 18 | 26.3% | 28th |
| 1987 Population Over 65 | 12.5% | 19th |
| 1987 Percent Anglo | 94.6% | 6th (U.S. 75.6%) |
| 1987 Anglo, age 0-18 | 91.1% | 7th (U.S. 69.5%) |
| 1986 Birth Rate | 16.1 | 19th |
| 1986 Percent of Teenage Births | 7.5% | 50th |
| 1986 Percent Unmarried Births | 15.1% | 42nd |
| 1986 Abortion Rate | 16.6 per 1,000 | 38th |
| 1987 Infant Mortality Rate | 8.8 per 1,000 | 45th |
| 1987 Doctors per 100,000 | 207 | 11th |
| 1987 Crime Rate per 100,000 | 4,362 | 30th |
| 1987 Prisoner Rate | 58.4 | 50th |
| 1980-86 Increase in Prisoners | +23.0 | 46th (U.S. +65.7%) |
| 1986 Taxes per Capita | $1,767 | 5th |
| 1986 Government Expenditure | $2,842 | 4th |
| 1987 Social Security Recipients | 152 | 32nd |
| 1986 Total Employed | 2,095,000 | 19th |
| 1980-86 Manufacturing Jobs | −0.6% | 16th (U.S. −6.4%) |
| 1980-86 Service Jobs | +21.2% | 35th (U.S. +29.1%) |
| 1986 Personal Income Per Capita | $14,994 | 15th |
| 1980-86 Per Capita Income Change | +6.6% | 22nd |
| 1986 Energy Consumption Per Capita | 292M BTU | 30th |
| 1987 Percent Nuclear Power | 38.9% | 9th |
| 1987 Motor Vehicles per 1,000 | 842 | 13th |
| 1986 Accidental Death per 100,000 | 15.7 | 41st |
| 1982-86 Retail Sales Per Capita | +40.3% | 11th |
| 1986 Farm Cash Receipts | $6,074M | 6th |
| 1985-86 Home Sales Change | +31.0% | 1st |
| 1985-86 New Housing Starts | +14.8% | 16th |

is seven times as expensive to have someone in the state pen as it is to have someone at Penn State.)

Although most Minnesotans are not rich, a very small percentage are eligible for poverty or social security programs—most are "paying their way." Personal income has increased slowly. Although the tax rate is high, the rate of delivered services is a little higher. As in Scandinavia, high tax payments are matched by the delivery of very high quality services. Average citizens get a little more back than they paid for. The Minnesota economy

has much diversification, one of the keys to a sound future. Farms are very profitable, retail sales have grown very rapidly since 1980, the manufacturing sector lost fewer jobs than the nation while the Minnesota service sector added a number of jobs, although fewer than the nation. Homes sales went up faster than anywhere else in the nation, while new housing starts (a good economic predictor) increased very rapidly, suggesting that in the future, housing costs will not increase rapidly due to a declining supply of housing stock, as is now the case in Boston, Washington, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Even in Minnesota, however, the low end of the service economy is creating a very large number of new jobs that don't pay very well, and have little advancement potential, as the next chart indicates:

**WHO DOES WHAT IN MINNESOTA?**

| | |
|---|---|
| Finance managers | 7,000 |
| Engineers | 22,500 |
| Physicians | 7,500 |
| Dentists | 2,600 |
| Veterinarians | 800 |
| Lawyers | 8,500 |
| Computer programmers | 9,400 |
| * * * * | |
| Secretaries | 73,400 |
| Fast food workers | 101,700 |
| Maids | 7,000 |
| Janitors | 55,500 |
| Laborers, handlers | 76,700 |

*Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, Winter, 1986

Even in the Minnesota economy, for every *new* job for a computer programmer, there are about nine new jobs for cashiers! The fact that there are about as many jobs for maids as for doctors suggests something about the Minnesota job structure, and eventually about its income and mobility structures.

Even with the weather, or maybe because of it, Minnesotans are very frugal in their use of energy, a high percentage of which is derived from nuclear sources. Highways are important to Minnesotans, who have a very high rate of vehicle ownership. Remember that a rate of 842 vehicles per 1,000 people includes 250 little kids who aren't allowed to own or drive a car, at least 50 elderly who *can't* drive and about 50 who choose not to, which changes the reality to 842 vehicles per *650* people who can own/drive them! One suspicion is that with the great importance Minnesotans place on recreational activity, a lot of these vehicles are RV's. Even with all these vehicles wheeling around, the accidental death rate is very low. Accidental deaths are caused by drinking, driving and shooting, especially when all three occur at the same time. Very few Minnesotans do all three at once.

Another thing about Minnesota, surprising to some, is the fact that, according to *American Demographics*, the state is now 18th in terms of the number of immigrants who move there (1987), about 5,380 every year. In fact, the Minneapolis-St. Paul metro is the *second* largest place for Laotians to immigrate in the nation. The state is very high in immigrants from Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, South Korea and Vietnam. One aspect of this success story is the effort made by Minnesota churches and service groups to find homes for refugee children. (One of the most deeply moving things to observe in the state is the welcoming of Asian refugee children at the Minneapolis airport by their new parents. No one knows exactly how to behave on either side, but there is an enormous amount of love in the atmosphere. This faith in pluralism, even in a state which doesn't have a lot of it, is one reason why America should have a major resurgence in the next century, when pluralism skills should lead to economic and social progress, as well as increased world leadership.)

Cold weather has even become a major force for innovation in the state. Like Middletown in Ohio, Mankato has completely enclosed its main streets; Edina built the first enclosed, climate-controlled shopping center more than 30 years ago, the bridges across the Mississippi to the "U" have been heated and enclosed for several decades, and in 1990, Bloomington will open the largest "mall" on the continent, except for the Edmonton original which has 800 shops, 100 restaurants, 20 theatres, a 10 acre water park, a golf course and hotel, all under one roof and climate controlled! Merely outfitting people for active outdoor activity is a profitable venture, especially now that Gore-Tex has arrived, as well as new chemicals which absorb heat at one temperature and release it at a higher one, giving each garment its own "thermostat." Already here are "Intimits" which are connectable mittens, allowing lovers to hold hands outdoors. Minnesotans have done well at creating a major market out of winter.

Although Minnesota has six metro areas (and four of the six are shared with a neighboring state, as our cover map indicates), the Minneapolis-St. Paul-Minnesota-Wisconsin metro represents about half of the state's population, and is crucial for the state's economy. The metro has come a long way from the milling-agricultural transport economy of 50 years ago. Today, the metro serves markets from local to international with a wide variety of business and professional services. Having the state capital in the metro provides a constant supply of interesting and well-paid government jobs, making this the 11th largest metro economy in the nation and certainly one of the largest "Heartland" economies. Although hit hard by the 1982 recession, especially in durable goods manufacturing, the economy has surged ahead in business and financial services, even while the computer industry was encountering a shakeout.

The area is becoming the financial center of the Northwest central region. This, added to the large number of companies which have located in the metro, have increased, and will continue to increase the demand for business and financial services, the key to the resiliency of economies like New York and Chicago. The young and highly educated work force (usually educated at the University of Minnesota, handily within the metro) will continue to earn higher wages in this expanding business services market. This metro is in the top five in the nation in terms of the

educational level of its work force, a key advantage. Even the recent declines in the computer manufacturing industry haven't dented the overall metro economy, due to the success of other market sectors. Nothing beats diversification.

One of the mainstays of the metro economy over the years has been the outstanding performance of the University, particularly its Schools of Agriculture, Engineering, Law, Medicine and Business, in creating a cadre of excellent professionals who are the state's major resource. Unlike many universities which ignore the locale in which they exist, the "U" has always been an integral player in the metro, as well as the state.

The economy will encounter further transition, particularly a decline in the importance of manufacturing. From 1979 to 1986, employment in durable goods manufacture fell by 8,000 people. New sources of jobs show these "winners" from 1983-87:

| | |
|---|---|
| *State, local government workers* | *+29,221* |
| *Business services* | *+22,683* |
| *Building contractors* | *+17,632* |
| *Health, educational services* | *+17,628* |

However, the high tech manufacturing base is already beginning to "come back" at the end of 1988, and is expected to be a major source of rapid growth in the next few years, particularly in the computer and related fields. The number of corporate headquarters will likely increase as well. In addition, Minneapolis-St. Paul represents a great transportation resource for barge, air, highway and rail. Fourteen barge lines and 120 tons of river terminal capacity plus access through the continental river system as well as the Mississippi give unmatched barge transport, while Northwest and 24 other carriers use the airport, Burlington Northern (with headquarters in St. Paul) plus 11 other railroads provide rail service while 150 trucking firms use the excellent highways, using 94 and 35 for wide access, and 494 and 694 for access to the metro's core cities.

Oddly enough, the location of the metro is both a blessing and a problem. Only 11.4% of the nation's employed population is within 500 miles, making this MSA rather isolated. Wholesale trade is tied very heavily to agriculture, so that as agriculture goes in the Heartland, so goes, to some extent, the health of this metro. Both cost of living and wage rates are quite high, which may discourage some employers from locating in the metro, even though the very well-educated work force and excellent distribution system, plus high quality infrastructure and services, should override these factors in most cases.

This analysis has left out the other five metro areas, most of which overlap with neighboring states as our cover map shows. In addition, there is a demographic increase in density which is filling in the metros from Rochester to St. Cloud, which could become a major combined metro area in the near future. One clear indicator of this is the increased enrollment at St. Cloud State—for many residents of the rapidly expanding northwestern suburbs of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metro, St. Cloud is now a closer university than the main campus of the "U." Should this development continue, the combined metro would be a formidable economic power, with world-level expertise in medicine, a variety of technologies and manufacturing processes, educational institutions and educated people. As this is being written, it is too early to say when (or whether) this new "CMA" (Consolidated Metro Area) will be hatched. Current satellite pictures taken at night do *not* indicate that the densities merit current consideration of a single Rochester-St. Cloud CMA, although there is a lot of variable increase. (There are some very specific financial consequences of becoming a CMA, as far as the federal government is concerned.) Stay tuned.

### *A Minnesota Family Portrait*

Given that Minnesota is indeed a "Heartland" state with a strong commitment to traditional values, a look at demographic changes within the Minnesota family might be in order before we discuss the educational system. Although there are any number of excellent statistical and analytical resources in Minnesota, our interest in national comparisons has suggested the use of a new analysis from the Population Reference Bureau, based on Current Population Survey (CPS) figures.

These numbers suggest rather stable families with some rapid shifts in certain areas, particularly children in poverty, going from 104,000 children in 1980 to 238,000 in 1987, according to the CPS data. As is common, the youth population is becoming ethnically diverse more rapidly than the adult population. The percentage of single parent families, while below the national average, is increasing faster than the nation. (The number of married couples who are now in a second marriage for at least one partner cannot be derived from these data, but nationally more than a third of all marriages is a second marriage for at least one member.)

This also suggests an increase in *families in poverty*, particularly those headed by a single female who is working full time. As of Fall, 1988, the most rapidly growing part of the homeless population in America is families with children in which at least one member works full time. However, if you are a woman taking care of children by yourself, with little or no job training, one income in the bottom of the service economy will not support you and your child (children). Indeed, in 1987, 3.5 million Americans worked full time, yet were eligible for poverty benefits. One wonders what kind of a job this represents. Although we are doing some supposing here, small changes in family structure can generate large increases in children being reared in poverty, particularly through single parent families of whatever ethnic background, even though black women are more vulnerable to poverty when raising their children. In a state in which family income has been so overwhelmingly middle class, these increases in youth poverty tend to stand out. The state's educational system should be seen as an arena in which all these people are playing out their parts.

## *Minnesota Populations by Family Type*

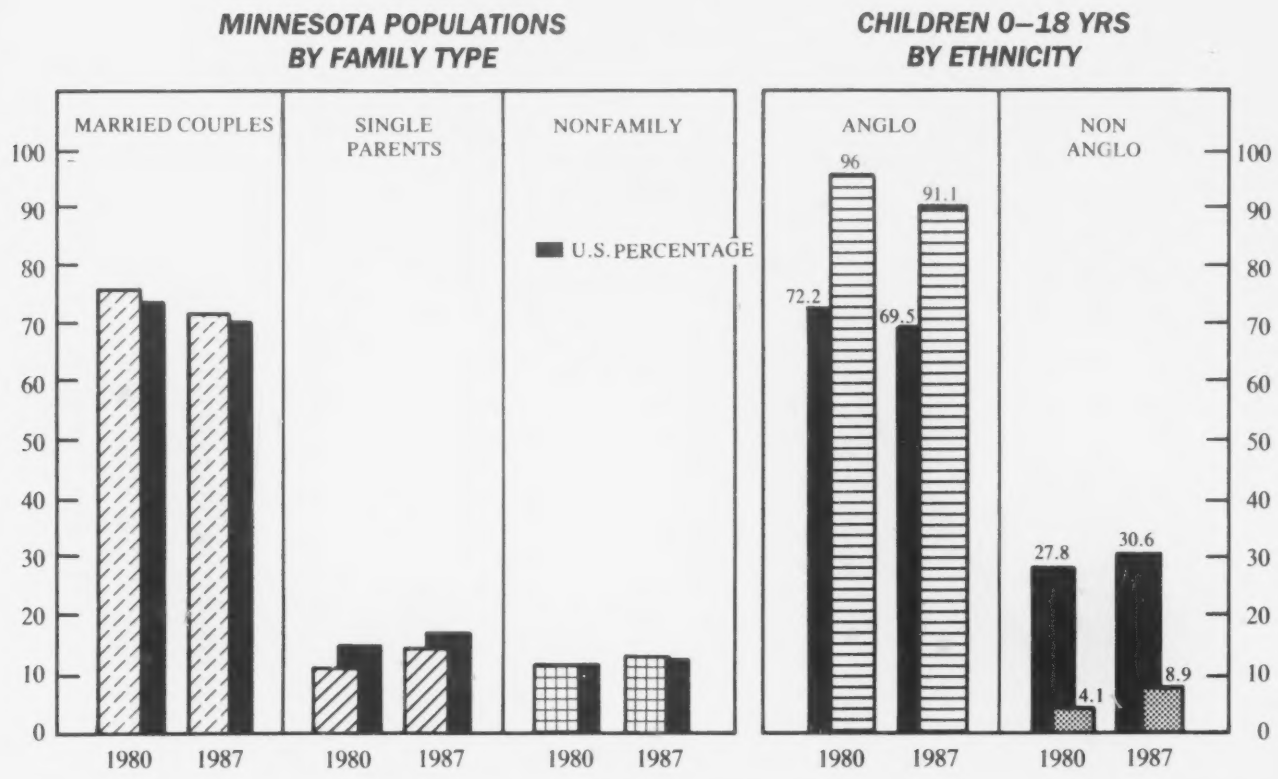
| | Married Couples | Single Parents | Nonfamily |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 77% (U.S. 73.6%) | 11.4%(U.S. 14.8%) | 11.6%(U.S. 11.6%) |
| 1987 | 71.8%(U.S. 70.2%) | 14.7%(U.S. 16.8%) | 13.5%(U.S. 13.0%) |

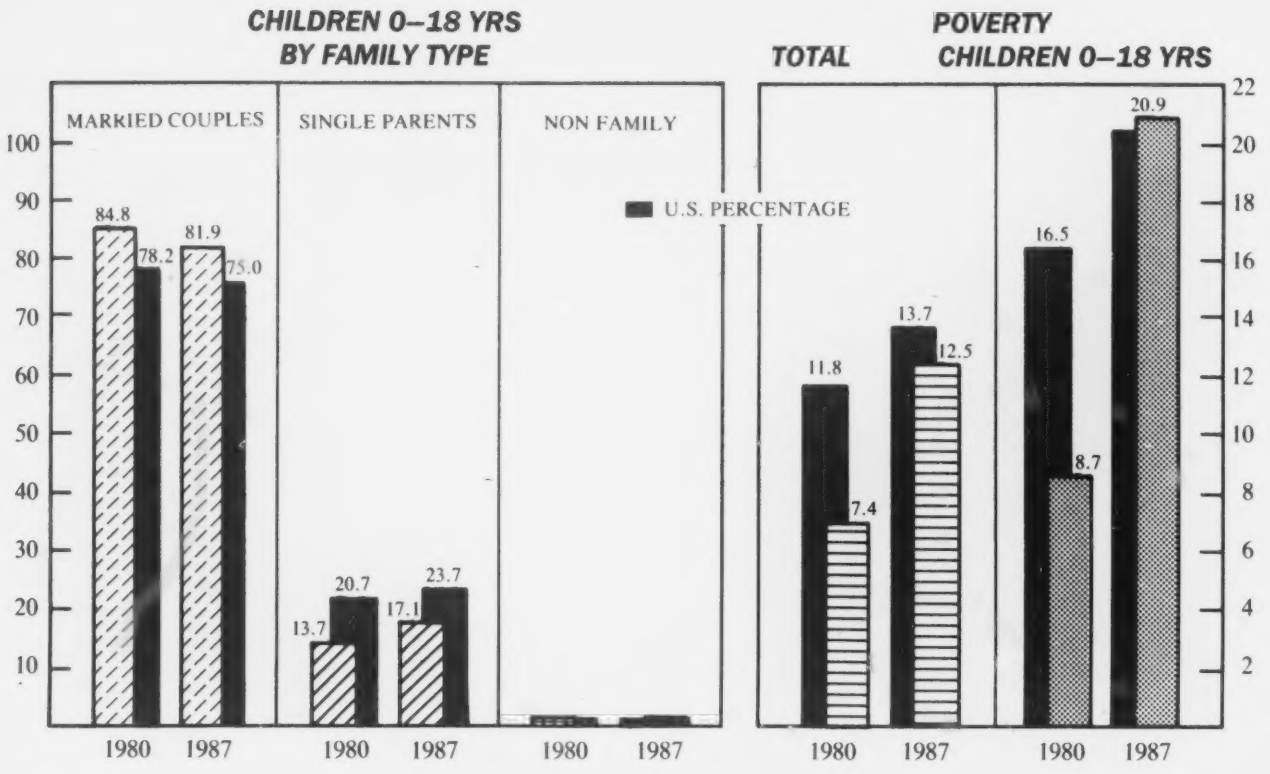
| | Children 0-18 yrs. | |
|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 84.8%(U.S. 78.2%) | 13.7%(U.S. 20.7%) 1.6%(U.S. 1.1%) |
| 1987 | 81.9%(U.S. 75.0%) | 17.1%(U.S. 23.7%) 1.0%(U.S. 1.3%) |

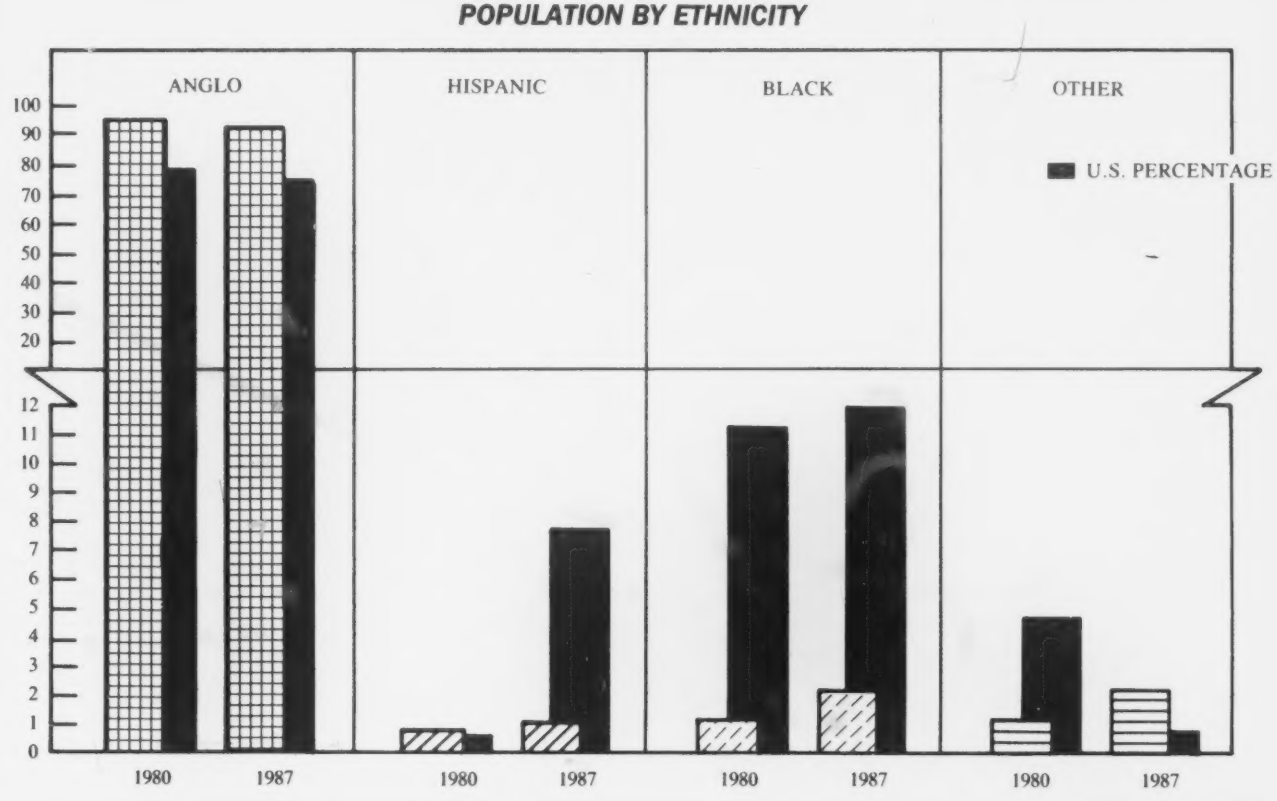
| | Poverty—Total | Poverty-Children (0-18yrs.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 7.4% (U.S. 11.8%) | 8.7%(U.S. 16.5%) |
| 1987 | 12.5% (U.S. 13.7%) | 20.9%(U.S. 20.5%) |

| | Population by Ethnicity | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Anglo | Hispanic | Black | Other |
| 1980 | 96.9%(U.S. 78%) | 0.7%(U.S. 6%) | 1.2%(U.S. 11.4%) | 1.1%(U.S. 4.6%) |
| 1987 | 94.6%(U.S. 75.6%) | 1.0%(U.S. 7.9%) | 2.2%(U.S. 11.9%) | 2.2%(U.S. 4.7%) |

| | Children 0-18 yrs. by ethnicity | |
|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 96% Anglo(U.S. 72.2%) | 4.1% non-Anglo(U.S. 27.8%) |
| 1987 | 91.1% Anglo(U.S 69.5%) | 8.9% non-Anglo(U.S. 30.6%) |




CHILDREN 0–18 YRS
BY FAMILY TYPE
TOTAL
POVERTY
CHILDREN 0–18 YRS
MARRIED COUPLES
SINGLE PARENTS
NON FAMILY
U.S. PERCENTAGE
84.8
78.2
81.9
75.0
13.7
20.7
17.1
23.7
11.8
7.4
13.7
12.5
16.5
8.7
20.9
1980
1987


POPULATION BY ETHNICITY
ANGLO
HISPANIC
BLACK
OTHER
U.S. PERCENTAGE
1980
1987

## MINNESOTA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

| | 1981-82 | 1986-87 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Elementary enrollment | 364,270 | 384,735 | |
| Secondary enrollment | 368,767 | 324,809 | |
| Total | 733,037 | 709,544 | |
| | | 716,305 Fall, '88 (est.) | |
| 1982 sophomores graduating in 1986 | 91.4% | | 1st |
| Per pupil expenditure, 1987 | $4,241 | | 18th |
| Per capita income, 1987 | $14,994 | | 16th |
| Teachers salary, 1987 | $29,140 | | 11th |
| Pupil teacher ratio, 1987 | 17.4 | | 28th |
| | **1973-74** | **1985-86** | |
| Federal funds for education | 4.7% | 4.2% | |
| State funds for education | 58.1% | 54.4% | |
| Local funds for education | 37.1% | 41.3% | |
| Private school enrollment, 1980 | 88,966 | | |
| Catholic | 64,418 | | |
| Other | 24,548 | | |
| Children in poverty, 1987 | 9.5% | | 48th |
| Handicapped children, 1987 | 11.6% | | 17th |
| Minority students, 1987 | 6.6% (45th) (black, 2.4%, Hispanic 0.9%, Asian 2.0%, Native American, other 1.3% (1984 data) | | |
| ACT scores, 1987 | (35% of seniors) 20.2 (3rd) scoring over 26: 6th | | |
| Students taking Advanced Placement courses, 1987 | 4.5% | | 36th |

### *Minnesota's Educational System*

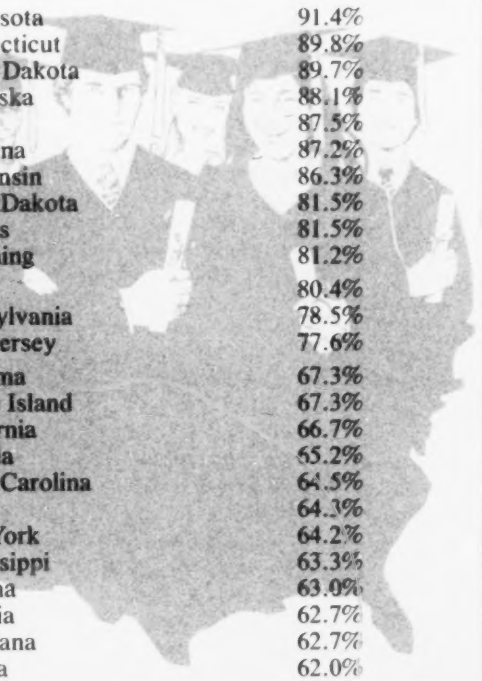
One major clue to the above is to think of a "left-over" decline in older student populations working its way out of the system at the top, while younger students, entering the system at the bottom, are increasing. (Indeed, we know that this trend will continue, as the Minnesota population of people under five years of age went from 307,000 in 1980 to 324,000 in 1986. The future clearly shows increases in the system for at least a decade, even as the school-age population declines from 865,000 in 1980 to 786,000 in 1986, according to the Population Reference Bureau.

In most states, ethnic diversity of youth is up to twice that in the adult population of the state. In Minnesota, that does not seem to be the case. In addition, minority populations are heavily concentrated in the Minneapolis and St. Paul school districts. Minneapolis is reported to have a 51 percent minority student registration (the October 13, 1987 Sight Count showed 17,872 minority students, or 45 percent), while St. Paul schools are 36.5 percent minority, 63.5 percent white, according to *Pocket the Facts about St. Paul Schools, 1988-1989*. While minority populations in these two city school systems are quite high, state school population figures are much lower.

Both Minneapolis and St. Paul city systems make heavy and creative use of magnet schools and other arrangements that increase students and parents choices in terms of educational alternatives. Partly as a result, private school enrollments, which have been over the national average of 12 percent, have begun to decline. (How much of this is due to Catholics and others returning their children to public schools and how much to fertility changes in various subpopulations is very hard to fathom.)

There is little doubt that Minnesota has led the nation for some years now in the percentage of young people who graduate from high school. It does so without "budget-busting" amounts of money, with class sizes which are very close to the national average, with good teachers who nevertheless seem quite like good teachers in other states. How does Minnesota come out so well? The answer can be found in the following table:

**Percentage Graduating from High School, 1986**



| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Minnesota | 91.4% |
| 2. Connecticut | 89.8% |
| 3. North Dakota | 89.7% |
| 4. Nebraska | 88.1% |
| 5. Iowa | 87.5% |
| 6. Montana | 87.2% |
| 7. Wisconsin | 86.3% |
| 8. South Dakota | 81.5% |
| 9. Kansas | 81.5% |
| 10. Wyoming | 81.2% |
| 11. Ohio | 80.4% |
| 14. Pennsylvania | 78.5% |
| 16. New Jersey | 77.6% |
| 39. Alabama | 67.3% |
| 40. Rhode Island | 67.3% |
| 41. California | 66.7% |
| 42. Nevada | 65.2% |
| 43. South Carolina | 64.5% |
| 44. Texas | 64.3% |
| 45. New York | 64.2% |
| 46. Mississippi | 63.3% |
| 47. Arizona | 63.0% |
| 48. Georgia | 62.7% |
| 49. Louisiana | 62.7% |
| 50. Florida | 62.0% |

It should be clear that what "wins" is not Minnesota but a *region*, with the exception of Connecticut. All of the best are Midwest, rural (but not rural poor), small cities, towns, schools and classes. (There have been few attempts to relate class size to graduation rates, but I am convinced that it works.) It is hard for a young person to be anonymous in these states—if you decide to play hookey, some adult who knows you by name is likely to spot you within fifteen minutes. Just below the ten best are three states that should be near the bottom—Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. All are ethnically diverse, much youth poverty, lots of manufacturing, big cities, etc., yet they do very well at graduating people. New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania work at it through their chief state school officers, but in addition, there is a stereotype that you need a high school diploma to get a job in the mill-factory, but not college. As a result, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey are very high on high school graduates, low on attendance at college.

At the low end, one sees very high incidence of childhood poverty (except for New York), large cities, ethnic diversity, and rapid social change, unlike the "Heartland" states at the top. It should be pointed out that Florida now leads the nation in high school dropouts and in prisoners! We have already seen the relation between the two. The sad thing is that we know enough to be able to get the attrition rates in Georgia and Texas up to the Minnesota level of high school graduation, but there is no national imperative to do it, even though it is crystal clear that *no one* benefits from having a young person drop out of school. Given that our "crop" of adolescents continues to decline until about 1994, we will need every one of our small band of youth to succeed—we can't throw any away. *Picking* winners isn't enough—we have to *make* winners as well.

When one looks at this kind of table, the conclusion seems clear—regardless of the excellence of Minnesota's system of public education, its superiority in terms of graduation rates is as much a function of the populations served (and the parents and families that back them up) as it is the excellence of teaching, curriculum or administration. As time goes on, the Minnesota populations may come to include more "at-risk" children, particularly increases in childhood poverty, which may test the system more severely than at present. To the state's credit, its excellent data and research services are scanning the educational environment regularly, so that Minnesota has more lead time to deal with these issues than most other states. But some parts of Minnesota have almost no experience with the more diverse populations served by Minneapolis and St. Paul schools, and the temptation will be to look down on these city schools as being inferior, when actually they may be doing a superior job with a large number of at-risk children.

Today we can locate sizeable black and Hispanic middle class populations, living in the suburbs in varying proportions, from 46 percent of Miami's black citizens in suburbs to Chicago's 9 percent. Minneapolis and St. Paul have not led the nation in terms of minority access to suburban housing; indeed, here is an issue that should get all sections of the state's leadership together. Obviously suburbs can be segregated too, so that access to suburbs is not a cure-all. But without it, minorities are denied choice. This is particularly important as *jobs* move to today's suburbs—if you are trapped in a core city and can't get to the new suburban job, that job is useless to you. The Twin Cities are loaded with "suburban growth corridors" from Wayzata Boulevard to St. Croix. In Washington, D.C., almost *half* of all new jobs are being created outside the beltway, while in Chicago, half of all commuters are going from a suburban home to a suburban job.

Gary Orfield's excellent research has shown us that when whites move out of a city, the population does not become all black, it becomes ethnically diverse. If one looks at Asians, Native Americans (clearly the most neglected minority in the nation) and Hispanics, one sees populations that are slowly growing and will continue to do so. It is important for many reasons that children experience some diversity in background in their school. Growing up in St. Louis Park, I did not even talk to a black person until I was fifteen-years-old, and that was not a schoolmate. These issues need to be framed with care: ethnically diverse populations will increasingly seek access to Minnesota's suburban communities, particularly for their excellent schools. The schools need to be prepared to make this an excellent experience for everyone.

Orfield's data for Minneapolis shows 10,499 black students enrolled in 1986-87, 57.2 percent in majority white

schools and only 0.3 percent in 90-100 percent nonwhite schools. (In Atlanta, for contrast, 90 percent of black students are enrolled in 90-100 percent nonwhite schools.) However, in Minneapolis there has been a drop in the percentage of white students in the school of a typical black student:

| | 1968 | 1974 | 1986 | Net |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Minneapolis | 63.7% | 69.7% | 54.1% | −9.6% |

*Most* of the students in the school of a typical black student in Minneapolis are white, but the percentage is dropping to about half. Orfield's data is persuasive on the point that blacks and other minorities benefit from being exposed to a large number of white students, while white scores do not decline while whites are the majority. The hidden agenda here is usually not race but poverty. If you equalize the background of a child you *tend* to equalize academic achievement. A third generation American black child, living in the suburbs with middle-class college graduate parents will perform in school in ways similar to a middle-class white child, third generation American, living in suburbs with college graduate parents. This is not always true, as stereotypes about black behavior, especially about music and sports, still abound. But the odds get better through time. We need much better information on this issue, especially for gifted minority students. Given the Governor's very creative ideas for high school students taking college courses with a "fee back" arrangement, plus the exceptional use of magnets within school districts, the state could be equally creative on the issues of minority suburbanization. Effective recruiting of talented minority teachers is one point of leverage.

In sum, Minnesota schools are doing an excellent job, constantly monitoring things and tuning them up when needed, without the faddism that can accompany some state's buckshot blast at "reform." However, some small changes in student *percentages* can cause difficulties in communities not use to change. And some major changes (the increase in children in poverty for starters) may be difficult to focus on in terms of cause and effect. The strong Minnesota work ethic could blind citizens to the truth that a large percentage of those in poverty are currently working full time, but at jobs that do not allow enough income for housing.

Clearly the state's human resources need to be turned even more to the issues of ethnic diversity and poverty. In addition, the state's education bureaucracy needs to be even more in touch with the health system, the income maintenance bureaucracy, the housing and transportation systems, all of whom serve the same clients as the schools do. Minnesota is doing well in this area of departmental collaboration at the state level, but could lead the nation in a very useful way.

## MINNESOTA HIGHER EDUCATION

When the *Chronicle of Higher Education* produced its *Almanac* in September, 1988, their section on Minnesota higher education devoted three of seven paragraphs to the problems of former president Kenneth Keller. Perhaps as important as the ethical issues involved was the Keller plan for "greatness" for the University of Minnesota by raising admissions standards and recruiting for "star" faculty. The history of the university is very non-elitist, and virtually anyone with good grades in any small town in the state can attend the "U." This author remembers his freshman orientation to that institution, in which a dean of some sort told us "Getting *into* the "U." is fairly easy. It is *graduating* from the "U." that's difficult. We believe that quality is what gets out with our name on it, not what comes in." That is still a radical idea of quality, compared to the conventional "We're good because of every nine kids who want to come here we only pick one," probably the basic measurement of quality most widely used today. The decision on whether to continue in the Land Grant tradition or to begin aping Princeton is a question which will linger long after the Keller crisis is forgotten.

The University is only a part of the state's total system, which includes the Minnesota State University System, the Community College System, and a system of vocational colleges. Each system has its own governing board, usually called regents. (This author had the pleasure of speaking at one of the first meetings in which the regents of the university, state university system and community colleges met together to discuss common issues, certainly a healthy trend.)

Two other groups are important here, the Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Board, which has done some excellent studies of policy issues affecting the higher education environment, and tends to be more influential than powerful; and the Minnesota Private College Council, which effectively represents the interests of the state's many high quality private colleges, from Carleton to Macalester.

Here is a picture of a diversified, well-financed system of higher education which can accommodate virtually every resident with the desire for more education. (There is also some good connection with the public schools which have programs for lifelong learners, such as the St. Paul Schools.) There is a good balance between public and private institutions. However, the percentage of minority students is about half that of public school enrollments, suggesting that work needs to be done on getting more minorities into, and graduated from, colleges and universities in the state. In most states, community colleges register about half of the minority student body, while in Minnesota the minority percentages in community colleges are quite low, reflecting among other things a small number of minorities in their service area. Metro State College in Minneapolis has been a model for innovation in urban community colleges for the nation for some years, particularly in meeting the needs of urban minority citizens.

If we look at degrees earned, further problems can be seen. The American Council on Education's *Fact Book on Higher Education, 1986-87*, indicates that in 1982-83, Minnesota awarded 20,664 bachelors degrees, of which 500 went to minorities and 144 went to blacks. For the

## *Minnesota Higher Education Profile, 1986-87*

| | |
|---|---|
| **Public 4-year Institutions** | **10** |
| **Public 2-year Institutions** | **23** |
| **Private 4-year Institutions** | **33** |
| **Private 2-year Institutions** | **7** |
| **Total** | **73** |
| **Vocational Institutions** | **148** |
| **Full-time Faculty, Public Institutions** | **4,537** |
| **Full-time Faculty, Private Institutions** | **2,207** |
| **Full Professor Salary at Public 4-year Institutions** | **$35,900** |
| **Full Professor Salary, Private 4-year Institutions** | **$28,300** |
| **Enrollment, Public 4-year Institutions** | **130,926** |
| **Enrollment, Public 2-year Institutions** | **47,864** |
| **Enrollment, Private 4-year Institutions** | **43,263** |
| **Enrollment, Private 2-year Institutions** | **4,503** |
| **Total Enrollment** | **226,556** |
| **Total Enrollment, 1970** | **160,788** |
| **Full-time Enrollment** | **63.9%** |
| **Minority Enrollment** | **4.2%** |
| **Minnesota Residents Attending Out-Of-State College** | **19.0%** |
| **Percent of Minority Students in 4-year Institutions** | **73.3%** |
| **Percent of Minority Students in 2-year Institutions** | **26.7%** |
| **State Funds for Higher Education Operations** | **$815,663,000** |
| **State Spending, Need Based Student Aid** | **$ 60,000,000** |

(All figures are from Chronicle of Higher Education, *Almanac*, September 1, 1988, except for 1970 enrollment.)

nation in that year, about 10 percent of all bachelors degrees were awarded to minorities. In 1986, 4.2 percent of all students in higher education in Minnesota were minority, 2,969 blacks, 1,279 Hispanics, 3,682 Asian and 1,474 Native Americans, out of 226,566 total enrollment, according to the Government's *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1988*.

Given that Minnesota graduated 53,600 students from high school in 1987, and was enrolling almost that many first-year students in higher education, it seems that access to higher education in Minnesota is extremely favorable, and the diversity of institutions makes choice more positive. Faculty pay seems reasonable, and the state's investment in student financial aid can be seen nationally as exceptional. But as the demography of Minnesota becomes more complex (as it inevitably will), the higher education system may have difficulty with this complexity. It appears already that Asian-American students are moving through the Minnesota system very rapidly, as is true in most states. As in California, it is too easy to take pride in increases in minority enrollments which are heavily Asian, and which can cover lack of progress in black, Hispanic and (especially) Native American enrollments. We need to look much more carefully at various ethnic groups on a smaller scale (Cambodian rather than "Asian") to make sure that we are maximizing the potential of the members of each individual group. We need to do this, not because we are liberals, but because we are pragmatists. Whatever "excellence" in higher education means, it must have something to do with maximizing the contribution of a wide variety of its citizens.

# GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Minnesota is a state in which democracy clearly works. Most citizens are actively involved in their state, and care about education. The educational system has been well supported by citizens who are used to paying considerable taxes for *excellent* services. What follows are some issues which the state might pursue in order to make the education system even better in the future.

**1.** According to the Population Reference Bureau, there has been a doubling of Minnesota children below the poverty line. While there have been components of a solution put in place (the McKnight Foundation's work on "Achieving Self-Sufficiency on Low Income" is one such component), the state does not seem to have a strategy for stemming this increase in poor children. To do so will enhance the state's economic base as well as its equity.

**2.** As the cities diversify, Minnesota's one-third rural population may have problems in understanding what this increased diversity will mean to them. Suburbs may have some similar difficulties. This is an area in which leadership, particularly superintendents and boards, can turn a vital corner toward the future.

**3.** Similarly, Minnesota's senior citizens are a rapidly increasing part of the population. They need to become involved in school programs, or they will not vote to support school bond issues. Some places (Fairfax County, Virginia comes to mind) have been clever enough to have programs for elderly citizens administered through the schools, so that being in a public school becomes a familiar and welcome event in the life of an older person. Older citizens, like most of us, vote a straight self-interest ticket. Their self-interest is enhanced by good schools.

**4.** While the idea of a Combined Metro Area from Rochester to St. Cloud is an appealing and interesting notion, it is some distance from reality, according to this author's information. What *is* reality is the increased interaction between Minnesota and Wisconsin businesses, residences and educational systems. This needs to be kept in mind by the planners, as well as the increasing links with North Dakota. Both can be seen, now, in the cover to this publication.

**5.** Although the economy has excellent flexibility and diversity, Minnesota, like other states, is generating a large number of low-paying jobs in the service sector—maids, janitors, cashiers, waiters and waitresses and security guards. These jobs have few opportunities for advancement built in, and usually mean that a parent with a single income from a job like this cannot raise one child without going into poverty. This is a good area for the state's creative forces to work on, in that some excellent beginnings have already been made.

**6.** While Minnesota does lead the nation in terms of high school graduation rates, an additional challenge would be to lead the nation in the percentage of minority and poverty youth who complete their high school programs.

**7.** The system of higher education needs to work more creatively with the state's public school leadership, and not just through the schools of education. There are in the nation many hundreds of "academic alliances," in which college teachers of mathematics meet monthly with public school math teachers to discuss common issues. The same holds for a variety of subject areas. In Connecticut, the state's excellent private schools are now in league with the big city school systems of the state, and offer the resources of Choate during the summer to students (and faculty) from New Haven, Hartford and Bridgeport public schools. Such a program in Minnesota would do a great deal. The state's excellent resources can be combined in some new and very useful ways without increasing financial outlays. Picking winners is comparatively easy—*making* winners, kindergarten through graduate school, is the biggest challenge.

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# MINNESOTA—SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. Minnesota is perhaps *the* state in which democracy really works. A very high percentage of voters go to the polls, the state leads the nation in the percentage of young people who graduate from high school, business leaders genuinely care about the community and state, and are responsible citizens, the legislature works harder than most to provide for the people's welfare. Behind all these good things is an energetic, well-educated citizenry. They pay fairly high taxes, and they get back excellent services, dollar for dollar.
2. That being the case, why do so few people move there? Locals will tell you it's either the weather or high taxes, but neither truly explains it. Some other hypotheses: if you want to become *really* rich, this is not the state, as income levels in Minnesota are moderate, and the state is not in the top ten in terms of increased income, 1980-1987. (New York City is still the best place.) If making lots of money, driving an extra fancy car and being recognized for it are your goals, this is not the state for you. (Alas, those do seem to be the goals of many Americans.) But if you like *both* opera and hunting and fishing, there is only one state in which all are easily available, and this is it.
3. Partly because the state has so few prisoners (at $24,000 per year to maintain, our investment in a prisoner is about seven times the investment we make as a nation in a child in school), the tax base is used for programs that have a major payoff for the citizens. The state's economy is well-diversified, as seen in the state's survival of the 1982 recession in better shape than the nation. The commitment to the Heartland values of family and the work ethic have made the state very popular for immigrants.
4. However, demographics can point out some problems on the horizon. First, the percentage of elderly citizens is increasing rapidly, and will continue to do so as few young families move into the state. Older people are less interested in the support of schools, and must be encouraged to see education as a *civic* responsibility, not just a parental responsibility. In addition, youth poverty in the state has increased in a major way since 1980, and many women are raising children by themselves without much job skill training. The state's economy continues to develop a large number of low-paying jobs for janitors, clerks, security guards, hotel maids, waiters and waitresses, etc. It is very hard to bring up a child and support a spouse on *one* income of this level. Minnesota is an overwhelmingly middle-class state, and these factors could begin to produce an "hourglass" state, with a squeezed middle, more rich and more poor. This would be a very different Minnesota, and a comprehensive program needs to be put in place to deal with it.
5. Another area of work is in equity. Minority populations are concentrated in the Minneapolis and St. Paul city limits. Movement to Minnesota's wealthy and successful suburbs has been slow. Education and housing are both key factors in this problem. Many of the components to a solution for this problem exist, but they need to be orchestrated. Similarly, the excellent system of higher education in Minnesota can work even more effectively with the public schools, just as the fine independent schools in the state can. These collaborations will benefit everyone.
6. In sum, the state has done an excellent job in dealing with issues, partly because Minnesotans have been so alike in background and values, their conflicts have been few and fairly easily resolved. The demographics make clear that the future will bring more population diversity by age, family structure, race, ethnic and country background, residence, language, wealth, and even aspiration. Because Minnesota has the capacity for environmental scanning, and the ability to translate these changes into policies and actions, Minnesota has about the best chance of any state to deal with these issues effectively. States like California and Florida can be overwhelmed by this new diversity; Minnesota has time to deal with the issues more carefully. Unlike Japan, America has always believed that pluralism is an economic and cultural advantage. During the next decade, the real test of that belief will be in states like Minnesota.

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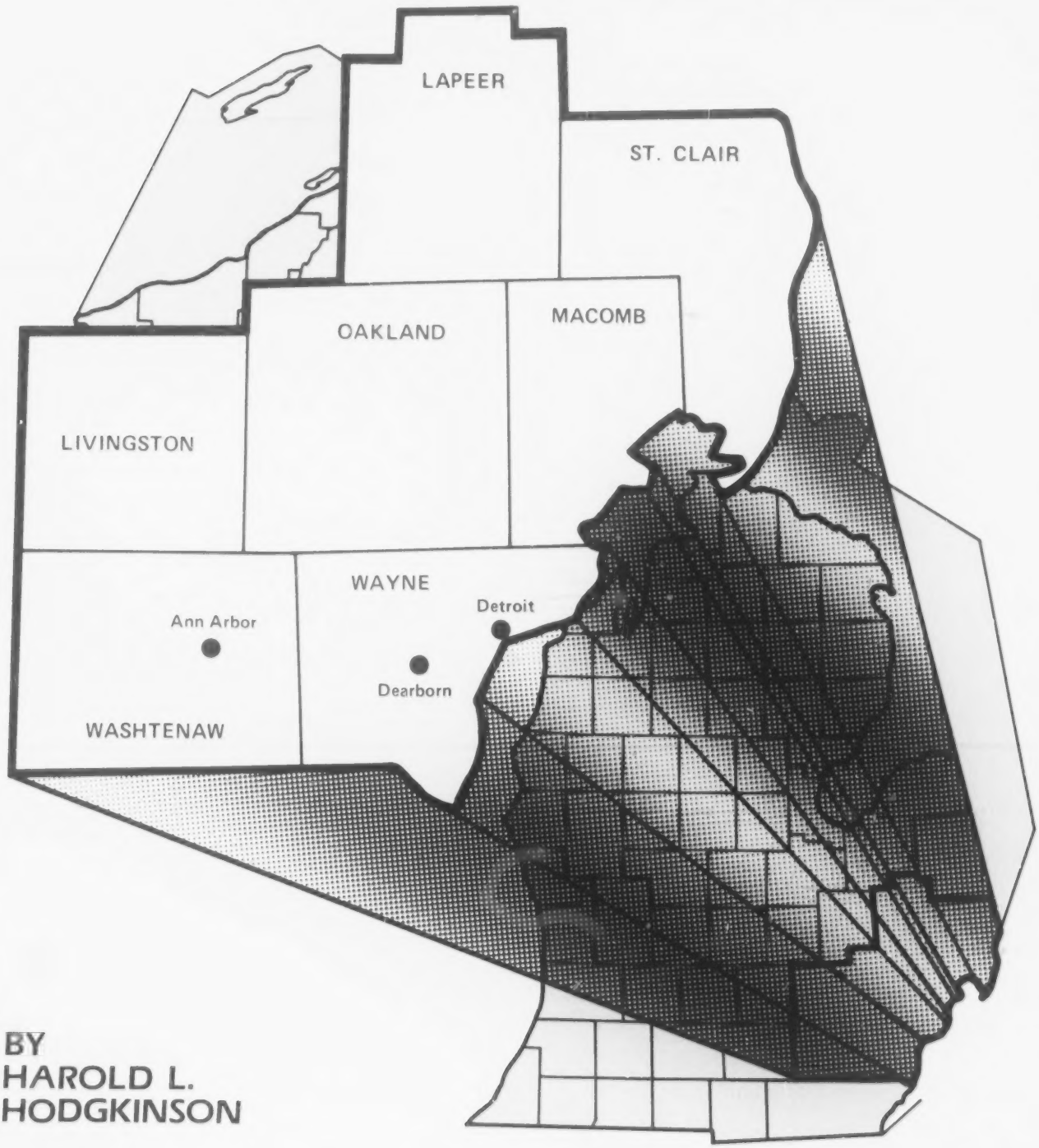
# MICHIGAN

## AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: ANOTHER LOOK

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# MICHIGAN:
## *THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM*

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# MICHIGAN AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM—ANOTHER LOOK

Our last report on Michigan was published in March, 1987, using 1986 and earlier data sources. At the request of Donald Bemis, Michigan's Superintendent of Public Instruction, we are taking another look at Michigan, with a particular focus on the Detroit metropolitan area in terms of Oakland, Macomb and Wayne counties. By being another two years down the pike in terms of data, we can see where certain trends we isolated previously seem to be taking Michigan.

To begin with a larger perspective, our last report was developed during the days of "Rust Bowl," in which most futurists (the author is not one) were extolling the virtues of the Sun Belt and snickering at the troubles of the states that represented manufacturing interests. (Will the last person out of Boston please turn off the lights?) Let's begin with a look at the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) listing of the American cities with the worst air pollution, as of the end of May, 1988.

### *Table 1*
### *CITIES WITH WORST AIR POLLUTION, 1988*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. New York | 86 days over standard |
| 2. Steubenville, Ohio | 24 days |
| 3. Spokane, Washington | 66 days |
| 4. Los Angeles | 40 days |
| 5. Albuquerque | 14 days |
| 6. Las Vegas | 20 days |
| 7. Denver | 24 days |
| 8. Provo, Utah | 20 days |
| 9. Fairbanks, Alaska | 15 days |
| 10. Phoenix | 11 days |

Source: Environmental Protection Agency, 1988.

The last five of these polluters are regularly recommended by doctors for their patients with respiratory diseases! Phoenix and Albuquerque represent dry desert heat no more, due to the almost whimsical watering of lawns and gardens as well as the filling of countless swimming pools in the midst of the desert, producing in 1989 some of the hottest humidity in the nation. The cities with the *best* quality air as determined by the EPA are shown below.

### *Table 2*
### *CITIES WITH BEST QUALITY AIR, 1988*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Cleveland | 0 days over standard |
| 2. Boston | 0 days |
| 3. San Jose | 0 days |
| 4. Detroit | 1 day |
| 5. Pittsburgh | 3 days |

Source: EPA, 1988.

These two lists represent more than air pollution, they also represent a measure of *industrial reconversion*. Certainly the economies of Ohio, Massachusetts, Michigan and Pennsylvania have diversified since 1980, and will continue to do so. If we are looking for states in *real* economic trouble, let's look at the leaders in business failures per million population in 1988 as shown in Table 3.

### *Table 3*
### *BUSINESS FAILURES PER MILLION POPULATION, 1988*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Colorado | 821 |
| 2. Kansas | 643 |
| 3. Wyoming | 538 |
| 4. Oregon | 425 |
| 5. California | 389 |
| 6. Nevada | 387 |
| 7. Washington | 371 |
| 8. Utah | 353 |
| 9. Alaska | 338 |

Source: Dun and Bradstreet, 1989.

There is hardly a "Rust Bowl" state to be found! It would appear that some futurists, using systems not well explained, totally missed the nature of statewide and regional changes during the 1980's. This does not mean that all is sweetness and light in the Great Lakes States, but consigning them to oblivion does seem a bit premature.

It is also very important to realize that Michigan is one of nine states that contain *half* of the people in the nation,

while 41 states compete for the other half. (Half of the people also means half of all the schools and children.) However, the nine states are very different in terms of their growth rates and economies (see Table 4 below).

Massachusetts, normally ninth or tenth, has dropped to thirteenth, having been overtaken by North Carolina, Georgia and Virginia. The most massive growth, almost unreported in the press, is in the Southeast, not the Southwest, where growth *percentages* are high but numbers of people are not. (Colorado is 26th in population, Arizona 25th. Even with high growth rates, those states are still comparatively small.)

What Table 4 below indicates is that our nine states, containing 126.6 million of our 245.8 million people, are vastly different in terms of growth. California, Texas and Florida are in the top ten in terms of growth, while with the exception of New Jersey, all the others are in the bottom ten. If we think of these nine states as having half of America's youth, it is interesting to look at projections for the percentage of minority youth in each state (see Chart 1 next page).

By the year 2010 (only 21 years away) four of our largest states will be more than half minority youth while two will be more than 40 percent. These six states will contain a total of 25.6 million children under the age of 18 in the year 2010, while the whole nation will contain only 62.6 million youth. (The *nine* states in Table 4 will contain 32.3 million of the 62.6 million youth under age 18 in the nation.) As the nation's youth become more ethnically diverse in the future, that diversity will be heavily concentrated in some of our largest states, whereas Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania will continue to have considerably *less* diversity than the nation as a whole. But within these nine states, governors, legislatures and school boards will decide policy influencing the education of *half of the children in the nation*.

In these nine are some of the states that will change the most in terms of population, as well as a number of the states that will change the *least* through population increases, increases in diversity, immigration and in-migration. For the nation as a whole, almost 40 percent of our youth will be non-Anglo in 21 years. If 40 percent of our young people do not get a good education and a good job, it is difficult indeed to see how the American

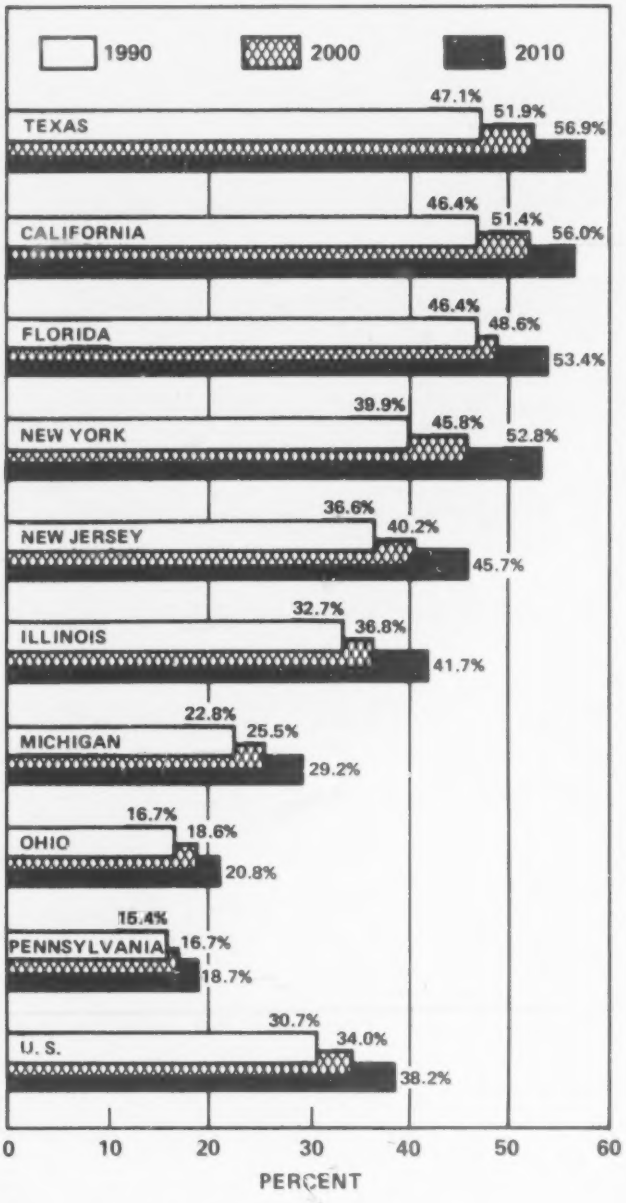
***Table 4***
***1988 Rankings—The Most Populated States***

| Size Rank | Size | Growth, 1980-88 | Growth Rank |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. California | 28,168,000 | 19.0% | 6th |
| 2. New York | 17,898,000 | 1.9% | 40th |
| 3. Texas | 16,780,000 | 17.9% | 7th |
| 4. Florida | 12,377,000 | 27.0% | 4th |
| 5. Pennsylvania | 12,027,000 | 1.4% | 4th |
| 6. Illinois | 11,544,000 | 1.0% | 45th |
| 7. Ohio | 10,872,000 | 0.7% | 46th |
| 8. Michigan | 9,300,000 | 0.4% | 47th |
| 9. New Jersey | 7,720,000 | 4.8% | 30th |

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1989.

**Chart 1**

**MINORITY YOUTH POPULATION PROJECTIONS: 1990–2010**




Source: *American Demographics*, May, 1989.

economy will be able to function. The responsibility for this issue in Maine (3.1 percent nonwhite youth in 2010) and in the District of Columbia (93.2 percent nonwhite youth in 2010) will be very different, but what happens in the District will affect what happens in Maine.

This is one of many contexts in which we can place Michigan. Another is the prediction from the Population Reference Bureau that between the 1980 and 2000 Censuses, Michigan will decline in seats in the U.S. House of Representatives from 18 to 15. The number of high school graduates will decline 8 percent between 1986 and 2004. (Michigan is one of the ten states that currently has no increase in very young children, age 0-5, and thus no "Baby Boomlet" starting through the schools.)

Table 5 (next page) shows Michigan in terms of a range of indicators. There are some clear patterns emerging from this mosaic of numbers. First, Michigan is a *very* stable state. Its population remains virtually unchanged from 1980-88, and is predicted by the Census to decline to 9,250,000 by the year 2000. Minority populations remain quite stable, at less than the U.S. average. Youth populations have declined slightly since 1980, although birth rates are close to the national average. About 12 percent of births are to teenage mothers, while almost 20 percent of births are to unmarried women (a low figure—in the U.S. almost one child in *four* is born to parents who are not married at the time of birth, an extraordinarily high figure.) Health care in Michigan is scarce (in terms of beds available) and expensive. Partly as a result, a larger percentage of babies die in the first year of life in Michigan than in the nation.

Fortunately, the high crime rate, especially for violent crimes, is increasing *very* slowly compared to other states. Michigan is ranked 36th. Detroit has definitely lost the title of murder capital of the nation, ranking 4th in total murders in 1988, and 3rd in murders per 100,000 for that year, with a decline in the rate for the first third of 1989 as well. On most measures of violent crime as well as theft, Washington, D.C. is emerging as the winner. In terms of police officers per 100,000 residents, Detroit, at 461, is second to D.C. with 620 officers, followed by Philadelphia with 417 (3rd), Chicago at 408 (4th), New York at 382 (5th) and Baltimore at 380 (6th) as of 1986. The cost of apprehending criminals in Detroit is very high, but not as high as the cost of *maintaining* them after they're caught!

The Michigan prisoner rate, while 15th in size, is also increasing very slowly. From 1980-86, while the nation's prison population increased 65.7 percent, Michigan's prisoners only increased 37.1 percent, ranking the state *43rd* in prisoner increases. (However, the state was housing 23,870 prisoners at the end of 1987, at a cost per prisoner of over $20,000, the national average cost. That's tax money that can't be used for schools, even though 80 percent of Michigan's prisoners are high school dropouts, if the state is consistent with the nation. We will discuss Michigan's dropout ratio later in the education section.)

While the Governor's desire to lock up an increasing number of dangerous criminals is understandable, it is a poor long-term strategy. (We certainly are not recommending early release either, as costs on early release can be as high as $200,000 each, depending on how you compute the dollar value of the crimes they commit. Over 60

## *Table 5*
## *MICHIGAN—PROFILE AND RANKS*

| | Michigan | Rank | U.S. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Population, 1988 | 9,300,000 | 8th | 245,807,000 |
| Population Change, 1980-88 | 0.4% | 47th | +8.5% |
| Black Adult Population, 1988 | 896,000 | 8th | 20,441,000 |
| Hispanic Adult Population, 1988 | 105,000 | 12th | 18,000,000 |
| Population Over Age 65 | 11.5% | 35th | 12.3% |
| People in Metro Areas | 80.2% | 15th | 76.9% |
| Births per 1,000 Population | 15.1 | 29th | 15.6 |
| Births to Teenage Mothers per 1,000 Population | 12.3% | 21st | 12.6% |
| Births to Unmarried Women per 1,000 Population | 19.3% | 31st | 23.4% |
| Infant Deaths per 1,000 Live Births | 11.4 | 11th | 10.4 |
| Hospital Daily Room Charges | $292 | 7th | $253 |
| Hospital Beds per 100,000 people, 1986 | 486 | 36th | 532 |
| Violent Crimes per 100,000, 1986 | 780 | 5th | 609 |
| Crime Rate Change, 1985-87 | +1.4% | 36th | +6.5% |
| Murders per 100,000 Population, 1986 | 12.2 | 7th | 9.0 |
| Prisoners per 100,000 Population, 1986 | 226.8 | 15th | |
| Per Capita Income, 1987 | $15,393 | 19th | $15,481 |
| Average Annual Pay, 1987 | $23,081 | 6th | $20,855 |
| Retail Sales per Capita, 1987 | $6,240 | 23rd | $6,348 |
| Federal Funds in Defense | $2.7 Billion | 24th | $215.7 Billion |
| Social Security Recipients, 1987 | 15.7% | 28th | 15.3% |
| AFDC Recipients, 1987 (As a percent of total population) | 8.2% | 4th | 6.2% |
| Food Stamp Recipients, 1987 | 9.4% | 10th | 7.5% |
| Manufacturing as Percent of Gross State Product | +31.0% | 2nd | 19.7% |
| Production Workers, Change 1980-86 | +11.5% | 1st | −5.1% |
| Service Workers, Change 1980-86 | +22.1% | 33rd | +29.1% |
| Home Sales, 1985-87 | −9.1% | 46th | −0.3% |
| Housing Starts, 1985-87 | −8.2% | 30th | −10.2% |
| Miles of Travel per Road Mile | 612 | 14th | 474 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1989.

percent of state and federal prisoners are back in jail within three years of their release date, early or not, ready to have $20,000 plus dollars of tax money paid for their keep. A prisoner is *seven times* as costly in tax money as either a Head Start youngster or a college student.

**A prisoner is seven times as costly in tax money as either a Head Start youngster or a college student.**

Given the fact that the correlation between prisoners and high school dropouts is a little higher than the correlation between smoking and lung cancer, a reduction in the high school dropout rate is the best long-term strategy *to reduce the number of future criminals*. High school graduates have a reasonable chance of getting a job, paying for their own housing, maybe owning their own car and even getting married, while high school dropouts have little chance of getting to the jobs that are the key to staying out of poverty and crime.

**High school graduates have a reasonable chance of getting a job, paying for their own housing, maybe owning their own car and even getting married, while high school dropouts have little chance of getting to the jobs that are the key to staying out of poverty and crime.**

Average *pay* in the state is high, due in part to union influence, while per capita *income* is lower, due to a large number of nonworking adults, especially women—Michigan ranked 36th in 1987 in percentage of women in the work force. (These days, two incomes are virtually essential for a couple living a middle-class life, whether they have children or not.) It is clear that a small chunk of the state's federal money comes from Defense. Those are some of the best-paying jobs the U.S. Government can provide, as Florida, Texas and California have discovered.

It is still true that manufacturing (31 percent of the Gross State Product in 1986 compared to a national rate of 19.7 percent) dominates the state economy—when the nation was losing 5.1 percent of its production workers, Michigan was adding 11.5 percent to its production force between 1980 and 1986, leading the nation in this regard. It seems safe to say that most of these manufacturing jobs were not directly related to auto manufacturing, which will add considerably to the state's economic diversity.

Although Michigan added 22 percent to its service work force in the same period, that was less than the nation as a whole. There is evidence of increased diversification in the Michigan work force for both manufacturing and service jobs, something our first Michigan report urged very strongly. Not only jobs, but *markets* seem to be diversifying in Michigan. We will return to this topic shortly.

The Michigan population is not aging very rapidly, and as a result, the "dependency ratio" is not shifting as rapidly away from youth and toward the elderly, as is the case in many other states. Ranking 28th in Social Security recipients, 10th in food stamp recipients and fourth in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) makes the point. Indeed, poverty among children is high in Michigan. Youth remain a major part of the Michigan population—29.4 percent of the state's population were under the age of 18 in 1987, compared to 28 percent for the nation. With very little movement of people into and out of the state, today's Michigan youth *will* be tomorrow's Michigan adults.

Some of the standard economic indicators are promising. Retail sales per capita are about at the national average. While auto manufacturing still dominates the economy, increases in the trade, distribution and service sectors show some very optimistic news. (Michigan is pulling financial and business services away from Chicago, a very healthy development for Michigan banks, business and computer services, etc.) Home sales and housing starts are very sluggish, for one central reason—few people are moving to or from Michigan! If there *were* a big increase in home starts, some builders would be in risky shape financially. A better indicator for the state might be the very high rate of rented office space in Detroit. As of the beginning of 1989, Detroit ranked third lowest in office vacancies with only 9.6 percent vacant. By contrast, Austin, Texas office space was *37 percent* vacant during the same period. No state income is developed in Texas by that 37 percent, *one* problem that Michigan doesn't have!

In addition, Michigan is expanding another component of the state's economy—tourism, retirement and recreation. From Traverse City to Boyne Mountain, there is a surge of construction in second homes, ski resorts, hotels with golf courses, and *any square foot of lakefront property*. This story is worth telling, as it gives some insights into the nature of populations.

Between 1980 and 1985, Michigan lost 500,000 people, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Of its 88 counties, only 23 gained more people than they lost. Almost all were in the northern half of Michigan's lower peninsula, according to the state data center in Lansing. People have been coming to this area for a long time as summer tourists, but now are moving to the area for retirement. Mostly pensioners from Michigan's industrial areas, the peninsula is also attracting many people from other states who love the quiet and solitude that can still be found in the northern half of the peninsula. (However, canny locals are already buying up much of the waterfront acreage in order to turn a profit.) Although retirement checks are not contributing tax dollars to Michigan, they allow local businesses to hire workers who *do* contribute tax dollars. These retirees act like a magnet, attracting younger workers who will provide services for them, and pay taxes in the process.

The county in America with the highest percentage of Social Security recipients is not in Florida. It is Montmorency County in northeast Michigan. Michigan *and Florida* both have six counties in the "top 25" in number of retirees! Michigan's six counties are shown in Table 6.

### *Table 6*
### *SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS PER 1,000 POPULATION*

| County | Recipients | National Rank |
|---|---|---|
| Montmorency | 376.3 | 1st |
| Roscommon | 365.0 | 5th |
| Keweenaw | 361.4 | 8th |
| Alcona | 325.4 | 13th |
| Iron | 315.1 | 19th |
| Lake | 306.8 | 23rd |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1986.

The big question is whether or not the solitude which these retirees have found can be maintained as the population in the woods increases. (Incidentally, Allan Beegle of Michigan State University has found that retired men called it solitude and loved it; women called it isolation and liked it less. Given the fact that women outlive men, some problems can be created in the future.) Tourism tends to produce low income jobs like janitors, maids and waiters, but self-contained permanent retirement homes also produce needs for lawyers, roofing experts, plumbers and electricians. We will have to wait and see what the "mix" becomes for Montmorency and others.

In the meantime, Michigan Governor James Blanchard has been mounting a vigorous campaign to move Michigan out of the doldrums of the 1982 recession into a position of national leadership in a number of dimensions. This is best seen in the report, *Building the Future: The Michigan Strategy*. There is little doubt, as we have already shown, that the Michigan economy and work force *have* diversified. However, compared with other states, manufacturing jobs are still a *very* high percentage of Michigan's work force, even though a smaller percentage of these are in car manufacturing. The "high tech" corridor from Detroit to Ann Arbor uses more robots than any place in the nation, and perhaps, the world. It is still too early to tell what the job diversification will lead to. (For example, most workers in "high tech" industries do not perform "high tech" functions or need "high tech" skills. In fact, the median education level of workers in Silicon Valley is not a college degree.) Can more well-paying jobs be created on a "high tech" base?

It is clear that in Michigan, as throughout the nation, most new jobs are created by small companies employing fewer than 50 people; thus, small business starts (and *keeping* small businesses going) will be crucial to Michigan's future. The state seems to have a good record in this regard, including being *sixth* in the nation in the number of black-owned small businesses—8,731 in the 1985 Census Survey of Small Businesses. Black economic development is clearly vital to Michigan's future.

The tourism industry is inherently loaded toward low-wage jobs, while the retirement "industry" is not. Both will increase in Michigan's future. The best bet is the steady increase in financial services, business services, computer services and other high end service industries. In the past, Michigan companies often got bank loans from Chicago. Today, Michigan is providing its own services for Michigan business, as well as for the Midwest. In addition, Michigan is strategically placed for major developments with our *largest* trading partner, Canada, which should increase well-paying jobs for Michigan in the future as well. The current development of the "rainy day" fund of about $400 million bodes well for the future, as does the use of lottery funds to supplement the state's public school finances. (A word of caution: the 1988 contribution of $485 million of lottery money is against total expenditures for public schools of $6.6 *billion* in 1986-87. Some states have tried cuts in tax support for schools because of lottery income, a very suicidal position in the long term. Fortunately, this does not seem to be a Michigan problem.)

In addition, the state is moving on policies that will benefit families, reduce infant mortality and provide more health services for its citizens, particularly youth, improve the environment and improve educational services at all levels. Let's now focus on that area of concern.

## *Michigan's Educational System*

Michigan school enrollments have been in steady decline since 1970-71, when enrollment stood at 2,142,000. Any number of other indicators need to be read with this in mind (see Table 7).

These data indicate the consequences of a stable state with little in-migration of new young families. Movers tend to be young families and those just starting families. If you do not have a steady movement of such people into the state, your average age goes up rapidly, and soon the number of children declines. Livonia, Michigan is just one city in which retired factory workers are staying in their homes, unintentionally excluding younger families with children from moving in. Thus, every year, more homes *don't* have children in the public schools, making the passage of school bond issues a sensitive process.

Enrollments in Michigan reflect this phenomenon. The last item in Table 7 establishes that there is no "Baby Boomlet" in Michigan, and the decline in students will therefore continue, although the major drops are now past, and youth populations will be coming close to stability in the year 2000 or so.

Michigan pays its teachers well, by any standard. However, the amount spent per pupil ranks the state only 21st, suggesting that a fair amount of money goes into budget categories other than teacher salaries. Where does it go?

## *Table 7*
## *MICHIGAN SCHOOL PROFILE*

| | | Rank | U.S. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Enrollment, 1987-88 | 1,520,000 | | |
| Enrollment Change, 1980-86 | −9.7% | 44th | −2.8% |
| Percent Minority Students | 22.3% | 22nd | 30.0% |
| Precent Handicapped Students | 10.0% | 40th | 11.1% |
| Nonpublic School Enrollment, 1987-88 | 188,000 | 11% of state | |
| Teacher Salaries, 1988 | $32,926 | 5th | $28,044 |
| Current Expenditures per Pupil, 1988 | $ 4,122 | 21st | $ 4,209 |
| Funding Sources, 1987: | | | |
| Federal | 3.5% | | 6.2% |
| State | 33.9% | | 50.0% |
| Local | 62.6% | | 43.8% |
| Student-Teacher Ratio, 1987-88 | 21.8 | 45th | 17.6 |
| Student-Staff Ratio, 1987-88 | 10.1 | 29th | 9.4 |
| ACT Score, 1988 | 18.8 | 17th* | |
| Advanced Placement Seniors, 1988 | 7.5% | 30th | 10.6% |
| Graduation Rate, 1982 | 71.6% | 28th | 69.5% |
| Graduation Rate, 1987 | 62.4% | 48th | 71.1% |
| Graduation Rate, 1987 (Michigan's Data) | 73.1% | 28th | |

| | 1980 | 1987 |
|---|---|---|
| Adults with College Degree | 875,000 (13.7%) | 977,000 (14.8%) |
| Adult High School Dropouts | 1,819,000 (28.5%) | 1,545,000 (23.4%) |
| Single Parent Children | 577,000 (19.1%) | 713,000 (26.6%) |
| Children in Poverty | 360,000 (11.9%) | 597,000 (22.3%) |
| Minority Children | 618,000 (20.5%) | 642,000 (23.9%) |
| All Children, Age 0-18 | 3,019,000 | 2,685,000 |
| Children, Age 0-5 | 685,000 | 661,000 |

*Of 22 states using ACT.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, Secretary's office, *Chart of Education Indicators*, 1989; and Population Reference Bureau, 1988.

For one thing, in 1987-88, there were 82,000 teachers in Michigan's schools and *83,000* non-teaching personnel, which includes 26,000 instructional support staff. These numbers astonish visitors from other countries, but in America there is generally one paid teacher for one paid non-teacher in our schools. Big city school systems like New York, Chicago and Detroit, have developed layered bureaucracies that are very inefficient and *very* hard to change. Michigan's classes are too big. With the country averaging 17 students per teacher, Michigan averages 21.8, putting it 45th, with elementary enrollments about 25.

Class size *does* have an impact on learning in certain conditions, but reducing class size is one of the most difficult and expensive things to attempt, as you not only

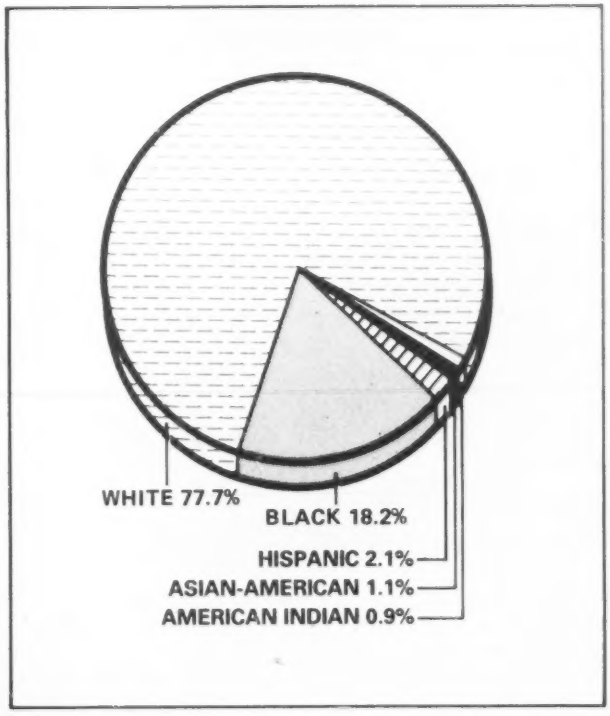
have to hire more teachers, you have to build new classrooms for them to teach in. In addition, Michigan is one state that flies in the face of the national trend to increase state expenditures for schools and decrease local contributions. (In the nation, only 43.8 percent of funds came from local sources in 1987 and 50 percent from state, while in Michigan 62.8 percent was local and 33.9 percent state.)

At 11 percent of total enrollment, private schools are somewhat less of a factor in Michigan than in the nation (about 13 percent). Catholic school enrollments seem to have declined even more than public schools, although there is no recent national data source to support this. (Catholic families are one person smaller than they were in 1970, in the U.S.) Suburbanization has something to do with this area, but facts are few.

Michigan's schools reflect the state's low level of ethnic diversity, although youth are slightly more nonwhite than the adult population. Michigan's youth population remains below the U.S. average in racial diversity through 2010—in that year, 29 percent of Michigan's youth will be nonwhite, compared to 38 percent for the nation. The largest minority group is clearly black, as can be seen in Chart 2.

Over the 1977-87 period, white students decreased by 3.5 percent, American Indians decreased by a fraction, Hispanics increased by .5 percent, blacks increased by 2.5 percent, according to the Michigan State Board of Education in their excellent report, *Conditions of Michigan Education, 1989*.

**Chart 2**
**RACIAL COMPOSITION OF MICHIGAN'S SCHOOL POPULATION, 1987-88**




Source: Michigan State Board of Education, *Condition of Michigan Education*, 1989.

Like Massachusetts, New Jersey and Connecticut, Michigan has made a priority of educating the handicapped, although the national rankings don't show it. The reasons for this are clear. The state's relatively low level of per pupil state funding plus a low level of federal funds mask the state's major commitment of *local* funds for special education. Indeed, Michigan was one of several states whose special education statutes were used as models for the federal mandates known as P.L. 94-142.

In achievement terms, the state's performance on the ACT taken by high school seniors ranks 17th among the 22 states making use of the ACT program. In the percent of students enrolled in Advanced Placement courses, Michigan ranks 30th of the 50 states. Several other indicators of performance are presented in the *Conditions* report already mentioned. Indeed, looking at the ratings Michigan citizens give their schools (half rate the schools as either "A" or "B") it is not clear what the evidence is that allows for the high rating!

There is considerable difference in the graduation rates figured by the U.S. Department of Education and those from Michigan, indicating a problem in general with the way states compute dropout numbers. (The problem seems to be in the computation of the number of 1986-87 graduates.) However, even if the Michigan data turns out to be correct, Michigan still will rank only 28th in graduation rate. It is curious that other similar states like Pennsylvania and Ohio—big, urban, manufacturing, large poverty pockets—do so much better on high school graduation rates. (Ohio is now 8th in graduation rate, Pennsylvania is 15th.) Although the *rates* may vary some from year to year, the *ranks* usually remain quite the same, just like EPA mileage ratings. It would seem that there is a real issue here, even with the debate above—accepting the Michigan data, why is the graduation rate so relatively low?

Certainly the data we have presented on the increasing numbers of Michigan children in poverty and being raised by a single parent may be part of the answer. Indeed, the numbers suggest that the group in Michigan that has born the major brunt of the economic problems of the past decade is young children. The evidence of poverty from the Population Reference Bureau is supported by the AFDC data from the Census Bureau. But this explains *future* low graduation rates more than anything else. What else is going on? My *personal* speculation, based on little evidence, is that in Michigan the stereotype still exists among youth that you can drop out of high school and still get a good job in an auto factory, as people have done since the 1950s. The notion that a poorly educated man can work in a factory and have two cars in the garage, three kids, a home and a non-working wife is simply an abberration in American history, never seen before 1950 and never seen again after 1980.

Some good news is found in the Michigan adult data—Michigan is increasing in the number of college graduates even during a period in which the state population was

declining, while adults who dropped out of high school declined in the adult population by 300,000 during the 1980-87 period. This allows us to be cautiously optimistic about the educational level of Michigan's workforce, but makes even more important the task of reducing the state's high youth poverty and dropout rates, no matter which data is used. To get a complete picture, we have to look at the entire educational system.

## Michigan's Higher Education System

While the state is dominated by the "flagship" University of Michigan, the state has a well-developed system of 15 public four-year institutions and 43 private four-year ones, plus 29 public two-year institutions and 4 private two-year ones, as well as 347 vocational institutions. One problem is the lack of a statewide governing board, plus a complex arrangement of elected and appointed boards for individual institutions. According to the Almanac of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, published September 1989, the higher education enrollment for Michigan is shown in Table 8 below.

### Table 8
### MICHIGAN HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT, 1988

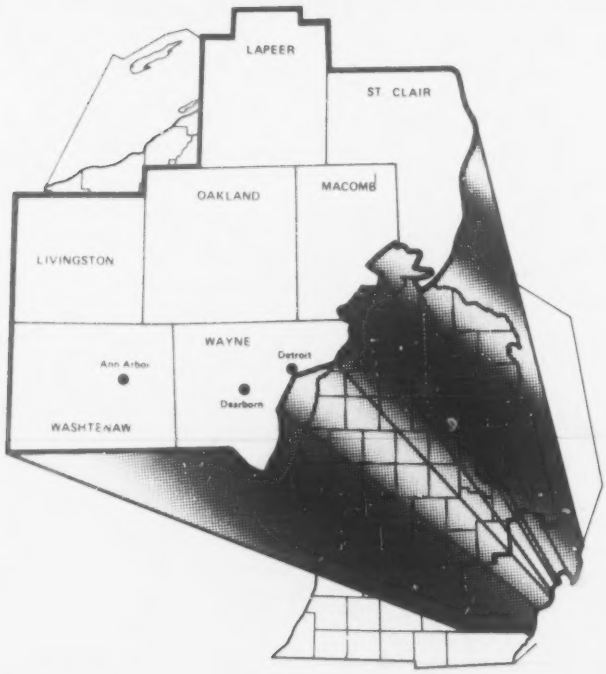
| | |
|---|---|
| Public 4-Year Enrollment | 244,288 |
| Public 2-Year Enrollment | 215,025 |
| Private 4-Year Enrollment | 72,557 |
| Private 2-Year Enrollment | 3,616 |
| Total Enrollment | 535,486 |
| Part-Time Enrollment | 49.5% |
| Women Students | 54.2% |
| Minority Students | 12.6% |
| Foreign Students | 2.3% |
| Enrollment Change, 1978-88 | +11.2% |
| Percent of Freshman Who are State Residents | 93.0% |
| State Funds for Operations | $1,338,033,000 |
| Change, 1986-88 | +9% |

Source: The Almanac, *Cronicle of Higher Education*, 1989.

Although there were some cuts, higher education certainly did not have to share the effects of the 1982 recession. By and large, Michigan's higher education system is well-placed in location, flexible in mission, reasonably well-funded, attractive to business and to students as well. While the links between public and private institutions are not coordinated as extensively as in Pennsylvania and New York, independent institutions play a vital role in the Michigan higher education system. Although the chances of graduating from high school in Michigan are not terribly high, the chances of going to a college once you *do* graduate are very good indeed. (Unfortunately, data on how many college freshmen actually graduate "on time" is not easy to come by.) An interesting footnote here is that Michigan *is* one of the nine states with half the people, and these same nine states produce half of the Ph.D. degrees awarded in the U.S. each year. They also probably produce half of the tooth paste, shoe and watermelon sales, to name but a few.

The large enrollment of part-timers, usually older students in community college settings, suggests that Michigan's higher education is closely linked with the state's needs for an increasingly well-educated work force, as most part-time students are involved in either job access or promotions. The state continued to fund higher education even in difficult economic times, resulting in a system that has "weathered the storm" comparatively well. However, minority percentages are low, and the state needs to make more of an effort at establishing college access for all students regardless of race. (Eight point six percent of the Michigan State's student body is minority, 11.7 percent for the University of Michigan and 19.3 percent for the University of Detroit.) This is partially due to the low rate of black suburbanization in the state, and suggests that higher education and public schools need to work on this problem in tandem.

# THE SPECIAL CASE OF THE DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA




Of Michigan's 9,300,000 citizens, about 4,400,000 live in the Detroit metropolitan area, which is the *fifth* largest of the 100 top metro areas in the nation. Just a shade over 2 million live in Wayne County, which contains the City of Detroit, making the "suburbs" and surrounding areas larger than the city itself, a not uncommon event these days. In addition, the "core" city is declining a little in population, while the surrounding counties are increasing (except for St. Clair). The counties in the Detroit metro area show the following growth (see Table 9 below).

We will concentrate most of our attention on Wayne, Macomb and Oakland counties, containing as they do 3.9 million of the 4.4 million metro total. But first, we need to look at the entire Detroit metro area, where we can find some good news in the last few years.

Most important, while the auto industry still dominates Detroit's economy, diversification in the retail, business services and financial services areas have increased since the 1982 recession, covering the decline in durable goods manufacturing, and resulting in declines in unemployment from 16 percent in 1982 to 8 percent in 1987, while per

***Table 9***
***DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA GROWTH, 1987–1990***

| County | Population, 1987 | Change 1980-87 | Change 1988-90(est.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lapeer | 75,383 | + 5,510 | + 2,199 |
| Livingston | 113,407 | + 13,354 | + 3,634 |
| Macomb | 744,223 | + 51,262 | + 8,361 |
| Monroe | 146,276 | + 11,934 | − 142 |
| Oakland | 1,074,160 | + 64,754 | + 18,509 |
| St. Clair | 138,071 | − 404 | + 2,843 |
| Wayne | 2,098,662 | − 233,665 | − 28,559 |

Source: These numbers, plus the ranking of top 100 metro areas, are from Data Resources, Inc, *Metro Insights, 1989*.

capita income growth is one of the highest in the nation. Employment growth since the last recession in 1982 has ranked in the top third of the nation's metros, averaging 4.7 percent a year, even though manufacturing employment growth declined from 1985-87 by about two percent a year. In terms of overall economic growth, Detroit has done better than Michigan and the nation since 1982! Here are the areas of new job creation during 1983-87:

**NEW JOB CREATION, 1983–87**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Trade** | **60,769** |
| **State, local government** | **42,319** |
| **Health, education** | **40,468** |
| **Business services** | **37,374** |
| **Building contractors** | **26,571** |

Source: Data Resources, Inc., *Metro Insights*, 1987.

While Detroiters fixate on the auto firms as being the *only* source of jobs, the facts are different as shown below.

**Major Manufacturers in Detroit and Total Jobs, 1987**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Pontiac Division, GM** | **13,509** |
| **GMC Truck and Coach Division** | **12,500** |
| **GM Truck and Bus** | **11,500** |
| **Chrysler Corporation** | **9,000** |
| **Ford Motor Company** | **7,500** |

**Major Non-Industrial Firms and Jobs, 1987**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Detroit Edison Company** | **13,037** |
| **Michigan National Corporation** | **7,685** |
| **Michigan Bell Telephone** | **5,100** |
| **National Bank of Detroit** | **5,089** |
| **William Beaumont-Troy Hospitals** | **4,999** |

Source: Data Resources, Inc., *Metro Insights*, 1987.

While the wage levels are most likely higher in Detroit's manufacturing sector, the growth of new jobs has clearly occurred in non-manufacturing areas. Detroit's location is excellent for products and services—32 percent of the nation's major markets are located within 500 miles. Another locational benefit is proximity to Canada, our number one trading partner. This relationship has transformed Buffalo, New York, a five minute drive to the border and 90 minutes from Toronto. Because everything is expensive in Canada, Buffalo is today a thriving city with unemployment down from 13 to 6 percent, 400 Canadian firms with some foothold in Buffalo, cheap housing costs and a *35 percent* growth in housing starts from 1987 to 1988!

The major free trade agreement passed at the beginning of 1989 creates a "Common Market" condition between our two nations, which can benefit not only Buffalo but Detroit as well. Indeed, given the fact that the Buffalo "World Trade Center" is now under construction, Governor Blanchard's plan for a Canadian Trade Center may be a little late off the starting blocks. *Both* Buffalo and Detroit have traffic jams at the border which will have to be remedied before office buildings celebrating no-tariff trade will become operational realities. Both New York and Michigan have a history of taking Canada for granted, and this attitude will also have to change, as Minnesota, Illinois and others begin to gear up for free trade with Canada. (In fact, some cooperative efforts between New York and Michigan would probably enhance the profitability of both states in the Canadian market. Given that all the players will be around for a long time, collaboration over a decade would make better sense than state versus state over 12 months.)

Detroit has a higher percentage of people in the work force than does Michigan—2.2 million people, which is the 5th largest work force of any metro in 1987, expanding 2.9 percent a year from 1983 to 1987, while the average for the top 100 metros was only 1.9 percent for the period. However, future work force growth is likely to slow. One of the problems is the educational levels of the Detroit work force. Nearly 32 percent of the adult population in the Detroit metro area have not completed high school, compared to 29 percent for the 100 largest metros. Twenty-nine percent of the Detroit adults have had at least one year of college, compared to 35 percent for the top 100 metros. In terms of college, Detroit ranks *87th* of the 100 largest metros. Although progress is being made, this is an area of serious concern in terms of attracting businesses to the metro area.

There are some other bright sides to the Detroit picture, particularly residential construction. Since the recession low of 3,600 housing starts in 1982, rates have zoomed to 33,700 per year in 1987. However, because of the lack of available land, a large number of these are multiple dwelling units. Nonresidential construction has also improved since 1982, with one exception—the construction of libraries, schools and religious buildings!

As we think of the strengths of the Detroit metro area, location emerges as a major one. It's only a day's drive from Detroit to 30 percent of the nation's markets, and the intersection of four major freeways, plus air, water and rail access make location a plus, both for trade and distribution of Detroit-manufactured goods and services. In fact, business services and finance, two areas that serve regional and national markets, are likely to be the best cards in the Detroit poker hand, as they represent stability while the *local* Detroit economy, especially manufacturing, gets restructured.

The major weakness is this very restructuring process. The heavy reliance on the success of the Big Three auto makers creates an unstable economy, and a work force that is *certain* to decline as the auto makers strive for more output from fewer workers. (The pricey jobs in financial and business services are often located outside Detroit in the suburbs.) The lack of educational levels in workers is another problem, making the restructuring harder as workers have fewer transferable skills. Although trans-

port systems are an important Detroit virtue, the *road* system is in great danger of massive gridlock in a decade or less, as populations move to new locations in the metro area. Another is the tendency of many state legislators to "write off" their major cities in which so much trouble exists today—Illinois does it with Chicago, New York State with "the City," and Michigan does it with Detroit. Strong gubernatorial leadership could turn this attitude around.

## Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties

Although these three counties are not the entire Detroit metro, they represent about 90 percent of the population and most of "the Action," however defined. Some very interesting patterns have emerged that involve all three counties. We will attempt to describe each county in terms of the other two.

Wayne is not just the largest county in Michigan, it is the 6th largest in the *nation*. (That's in 1987; in 1980 it was 4th largest, but has been taken over by San Diego and Kings County in New York.) Of its 2,164,300 residents in 1986, 1,086,220 Wayne County citizens reside in the City of Detroit, down from 1,203,369 in the city in 1980. Ironically, Wayne is number 1 in population *decline* from 1980-86, losing 173,000 people. What is left is an increasingly older population, particularly landlocked retired auto workers. As a result, Wayne is 4th in the nation in "transfer payments"—money taxed from the pay of younger workers to provide services to elderly persons in need of assistance. In 1989, this figure has risen from $5.1 billion to an estimated $6 billion, with more increases to come. (One of the good things about Detroit is the very large percentage of revenue devoted to caring for citizens in need. This includes but is not limited to auto worker negotiated benefit plans. However, the *needs* are even greater than the resources.) In terms of density, no one in Michigan even comes close—3,519 people per square mile in Wayne County. It may be useful here to present some comparative data for our three counties in some different areas (see Table 10 below).

Some easy generalizations from this data are: first, and most important, Wayne's population loss is far greater than the gains in Oakland and Macomb, meaning that most people leaving Wayne have not moved to the other two counties, even though a considerable number have become "suburbanized." Second, school declines have been proportionately greater than adult declines in Oakland and Wayne, and spectacular in Macomb, given the stability of the adult population. Third, the minority population of Wayne is huge in percentage compared to Oakland and Macomb, suggesting that *minority* suburbanization is just in its infancy in the Detroit area. (Prince Georges County, outside of Washington, D.C., is now a *majority* of black middle-class suburban households.) Fourth, Oakland seems to be where the money is, both in per capita income and in the value of building construction permits, evenly distributed between residential and business construction. An inference from these data is that *jobs have been moving to Detroit's suburbs as well as people*, and that a large number of the best paying jobs have moved to Oakland County.

Oakland is going through some fascinating changes today. It represents for many the *first generation* of black suburbanites. Many of these families have children who began their education in Detroit elementary and junior high schools and now find themselves in much more demanding educational settings in Oakland secondary schools. Other black families have moved to Oakland from Macomb ("black flight") in order to take advantage of educational and occupational opportunities there. Although a number of schools in the 24 school districts in Oakland have as much as 70 percent minority students, it is usually middle-class minority populations. A large number of immigrants

**Table 10**
**WAYNE, OAKLAND, AND MACOMB COMPARATIVE COUNTY DATA**

| | Wayne | Oakland | Macomb |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Population, 1986 | 2,164,300 | 1,025,800 | 697,200 |
| Total Population, 1980 | 2,337,843 | 1,011,793 | 694,600 |
| School Enrollment, 1987 | 361,819 | 170,124 | 118,295 |
| School Enrollment, 1980 | 445,072 | 200,560 | 148,770 |
| Minority Population, 1986 | 38.9% | 7.5% | 2.6% |
| Crimes, 1985 | 215,962 | 64,379 | 40,395 |
| Per Capita Income, 1985 | $10,681 | $15,485 | $12,398 |
| Building Permit Value, 1986 | $835M | $1,532M | $562M |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1988.

are moving to the county, particularly Asian and Middle Eastern groups. (Superintendent Keane reported that a large number of valedictorians are from Asia and India.) Many students do not speak English, but the languages they *do* speak may range from the expected Spanish to Hindi, Urdu, Mandarin, Lebanese and Korean. (There seems to be a very large influx of Iranian, Chaldean and other Middle Eastern families—in Dearborn, some 15 year-old females in school have had marriages "arranged" by their families. Dearborn is reported to have the largest number of Arabic speaking people outside of the Middle East.) Another aspect of Oakland is the very rapid growth of international corporation headquarters, which is good for the tax base and also provides a number of high achieving children in the schools.

Both Middle Eastern and Asian cultures gravitate to small business when they immigrate, and a large number of restaurants and "mom and pop" stores in the county are now owned by people from these groups. (This always creates some hostility with existing black populations, just as it did when Jewish store owners took over most of the small businesses in Harlem.) Largely because of these new populations coming into Oakland from other nations, from Detroit and from Wayne, elementary school enrollments in the county are beginning to increase, especially in the early grades. All of the incoming populations have high fertility rates, suggesting that they will increase as a percentage of the Oakland population through time.

Macomb is very different. It was the first "white flight" suburb out of Detroit, and was described to the author as a "poor cousin" of Oakland. Politics in Macomb are "big city" in style, with back room deal cutting still very popular, making county school leadership more difficult than in many counties. While ethnic diversity is increasing, it is mainly Hispanic, with a stable black population of about 3 percent of school enrollments. (Several people mentioned the "leapfrog" effect—middle-class blacks living in Detroit try to move directly to Oakland by jumping over Macomb.) The lower half of the county is heavily populated with retired auto workers. Indeed, from Romeo on, the active workers are just as heavily line workers, foremen and supervisors.

Some growth in the county is encouraging. Along with Oakland, Macomb borders on the "Ann Arbor high tech corridor." The theory is that Research and Development in Ann Arbor and the University of Michigan will be implemented in factories in Oakland and Macomb. So far, this seems to be working. However, the major growth in Macomb has been in retail, particularly *shopping malls*, which now abound on virtually every city block, as well as car dealerships. Perhaps taking their lead from the huge Lakeside Mall, most malls border on the heroic in their proportions. Some of this is catch-up, filling in the retail opportunities for a suburban population which does *not* want to go to downtown Detroit to shop. However, a major problem has arisen, in that these retail outlets are designed to be accessible by private passenger cars. Period. There is little public transportation that will get you from your home to a shopping mall in Macomb, or Oakland for that matter. At this time, the East-West corridors, particularly around Highway 59 in Macomb, stop moving during long periods of the day. Because roads have not expanded as the population has, the retail business on which Macomb depends heavily is in some jeopardy.

The other booming "industry" in Macomb is prisons! Partially in response to the Governor's initiatives, Macomb is building a large number of new prison cells at an average cost of about $50,000 per cell. (Remember our earlier discussion of the fact that 80 percent of prisoners are high school dropouts and that each prisoner costs upwards of $20,000 to maintain.) However, these prison construction contracts provide a large number of well-paying jobs both in construction and in the sewer lines that must be snaked in between existing roads and buildings.

While the economy of Macomb County is diversifying, its population is much more stable than Oakland's, both in school enrollments and in general. Both Oakland and Macomb voted heavily Republican in 1984, while Wayne went Democratic, suggesting the "suburbanization" of the two, even though Macomb seems to be much more blue collar or "working class" than does Oakland with its international corporate headquarters and its increasing supply of executives, managers and professionals.

As jobs increasingly move to the suburbs in Oakland and (to a lesser extent) in Macomb, Michigan is beginning to encounter a phenomenon seen often in the U.S.—the former bedroom suburb, now transformed to a self-contained "edge city" in which most people live *and* work. Irvine, California now has as many jobs as households, and is in no sense a "bedroom" for Los Angeles. Washington, D.C. is creating a number of edge cities from Rockville to Chantilly. More jobs will be created outside the beltway than now exist *within* the beltway. Dearborn seems to be another edge city, decreasingly dependent on Detroit. Just as most Chicago commuters are going from a suburban home to a suburban job (63 percent in 1987), so most people in Dearborn live their lives there. In a presentation made by this author last year in Dearborn, a big majority of the Dearbornites in the audience indicated that they had not been to downtown Detroit in the last three months. The two "growth corridors" that are filling in rapidly are the one west to Ann Arbor and northwest to Pontiac. In the future Detroit can count on many other "edge cities" developing on its margins, but not contributing to the core city from which it nevertheless receives many benefits.

## Focus on Detroit Schools

Although there are 34 school districts in Wayne County, we will concentrate on the 190,000 students in the Detroit Public School District. In the *Report of the Select Panel on Detroit Public Schools*, published in December, 1988, Detroit schools are continually contrasted with Group B ("large district") schools in Michigan. These comparisons are going to be misleading just because of comparative size, as seen in these 1987 enrollment figures shown below.

**1987 School Enrollment**

| | |
|---|---|
| Detroit | 195,871 |
| Flint | 32,767 |
| Grand Rapids | 31,915 |
| Utica | 24,674 |
| Lansing | 24,629 |

To understand Detroit, it needs comparisons with other school districts *of its same size and complexity*, which means comparisons with, in order of size, New York, Los Angeles Unified, Chicago, Dade County (Florida), Philadelphia and Houston. Some of the best data for this come from Gary Orfield's report to the National School Board Association in 1988.

### Table 11
### School Enrollment, 1967 and 1986

| District | 1967 | 1986 |
|---|---|---|
| New York | 1,101,804 | 946,659 |
| Los Angeles | 652,608 | 587,632 |
| Chicago | 574,801 | 427,570 |
| Dade County (FL) | 220,011 | 243,690 |
| Houston | 256,459 | 194,573 |
| Philadelphia | 279,907 | 187,139 |
| Detroit | 293,000 | 159,669 |

Source: Gary Orfield, *Racial Change and Desegragation in Large School Districts*, 1988.

### Table 12
### Change in School Enrollment, 1967–1986

| District | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| New York | −155,145 | −14% |
| Los Angeles | − 65,426 | −10% |
| Chicago | −147,231 | −26% |
| Dade County (FL) | + 23,679 | +11% |
| Houston | − 61,886 | −24% |
| Philadelphia | − 92,768 | −33% |
| Detroit | −133,331 | −46% |

Source: Orfield.

With the exception of Miami, all the other largest districts had severe declines, but nothing like Detroit in terms of percentage of decline. This put the system very much "at risk," losing almost half of its enrollment. Who is left? This is also a good question for Orfield's data (see Tables 13 and 14 below).

### Table 13
### Change in School Enrollment of Whites, 1967–86

| District | Percent White 1967 | Percent White 1986 | Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 48% | 22% | -26% |
| Los Angeles | 55% | 18% | -37% |
| Chicago | 41% | 14% | -27% |
| Dade County (FL) | 64% | 24% | -40% |
| Houston | 54% | 17% | -37% |
| Philadelphia | 40% | 25% | -15% |
| Detroit | 41% | 9% | -32% |
| Dallas | 63% | 21% | -42% |

Source: Orfield.

### Table 14
### Change in School Enrollment of Blacks, 1967–87

| District | Percent Black 1967 | Percent Black 1986 | Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| New York | 30% | 38% | + 8% |
| Los Angeles | 22% | 18% | − 4% |
| Chicago | 52% | 57% | + 5% |
| Dade County (FL) | 24% | 33% | + 9% |
| Houston | 33% | 43% | +10% |
| Philadelphia | 58% | 63% | + 5% |
| Detroit | 58% | 89% | +31% |
| Dallas | 30% | 49% | +19% |

Source: Orfield.

While all the largest school districts had considerable "white flight" during this period, *most did not become overwhelmingly black in enrollment, they became much more ethnically diverse*, particularly with Hispanic and Asian enrollments. Only Detroit and Philadelphia became more than 60 percent black, with Chicago very close behind. One of the major reasons was that blacks in these cities were "landlocked," unable to move to the suburbs. Black suburbanization has proceeded *very* slowly in Chicago, Detroit and Houston, as data from my *All One System* show (see Table 15).

### Table 15
### Percentage of Metro Blacks In Suburbs, 1985

| | |
|---|---|
| Miami | 69.0% |
| Newark | 52.9% |
| District of Columbia | 48.5% |
| Los Angeles | 46.5% |
| Atlanta | 46.0% |
| Oakland | 39.5% |
| St. Louis | 35.4% |
| Birmingham | 34.1% |
| Philadelphia | 27.7% |
| Cleveland | 27.2% |
| New Orleans | 24.6% |
| Baltimore | 23.0% |
| Memphis | 15.4% |
| Dallas | 15.3% |
| Detroit | 14.9% |
| Houston | 14.0% |
| Chicago | 9.0% |

Source: Harold Hodgkinson, *All One System*, 1985.

Whatever the reasons for the low level of black suburbanization in Chicago and Detroit, it seems difficult to blame the schools for them! It is important to see that, in Detroit—Chicago—Houston, the number of "success models" in terms of black middle-class families who have made it to the suburbs is very small. In addition, going to school with people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds is different from going to an all-black school, which is the situation for a large number of Detroit young people, through no fault of their own, *nor the District's*. Table 16 shows the segregation levels in schools from Orfield's data.

### Table 16
### Percent of Black Students In 90-100% Non-White Schools

| | |
|---|---|
| New York | 74.1% |
| Los Angeles | 70.0% |
| Chicago | 81.3% |
| Dade County (FL) | 59.2% |
| Houston | 69.6% |
| Philadelphia | 73.7% |
| Detroit | 76.1% |

Source: Orfield.

In 1986, a typical black student in Detroit attended a school that was, on average, 6.6 percent white. It is not that the white students are sitting in a small number of all-white schools in Detroit, it is that *they are not in Detroit at all*, as they have moved to Grosse Pointe and Dearborn. Until some system is devised to break down the dividers between city and adjacent suburbs, the demographic facts all suggest unequal opportunity in downtown Detroit schools, *even if they were run with the management expertise recommended by the Select Committee*. A simple look at the Louisville, Kentucky schools, now reorganized as the Jefferson County Schools, allowing suburbs and city to interact as one school district, will show what can be done when these barriers are allowed to be permeable.

The Select Committee's criticisms of Detroit schools are also very characteristic of criticisms of the other largest school systems in the nation, all of which have seen money, talent, political concern and educational leadership all depart for the suburbs. The seven quality recommendations of the Select Committee report—basically suggesting that Detroit Schools should be performing at the state average on academic achievement, simply misses the demographic evidence. In order to achieve these goals, the Detroit schools would have to be almost twice as good as the rest of the state's schools, as they have a *far* higher percentage of students who are seriously at risk of school failure even before they enter the school door on the first day of kindergarten.

***To write off Detroit because class size makes "no difference" is to seriously misrepresent the facts. A more interesting question might be: Given the huge investment required to get Detroit's classes down to reasonable size, can some of the benefits of small classes be achieved even in larger settings?***

There is no thought given in the report of reducing class size—a very costly procedure, currently panned because if you run *all school systems compared to all school systems*, neither per pupil spending nor class size makes much difference, if you're using achievement test scores as your measure of success. But how about dropouts? On that measure, there are some striking differences—smaller class schools in Michigan report a dropout rate about half that in districts with larger class sizes, even though test scores are about the same. (And when you look at the heavy spending districts, they generally *do* have smaller classes, and are generally in the suburbs. Parent educational attainment, heavily correlated with student achievement scores, is also higher in suburban small class schools. So wealth, well-educated parents, small classes and suburban settings *do* produce better test results!)

Detroit, on the other hand, has an average of *30* students per class in elementary schools, one of the largest averages in the state. A senior official of the Michigan Education Department has been quoted as saying "There is sufficient research that indicates class size makes a difference for poor children in early grades in the acquisition of math and reading skills...once class size is down around 15 students per teacher."

To write off Detroit because class size makes "no difference" is to seriously misrepresent the facts. A more

interesting question might be: Given the huge investment required to get Detroit's classes down to reasonable size, can some of the *benefits* of small classes be achieved even in larger settings? The answer, in terms of more teacher aides, dividing classes into smaller work groups with a trained adult in charge of each one, programs allowing each child to progress in each subject at his/her own rate of speed, greater parent involvement in their children's learning, and more effective teacher teams, is a qualified yes.

***Head Start children graduate from high school far more often than control group children.***

Anything that keeps Detroits's kids in school is bound to benefit everybody. About half of the graduates of Detroit's high schools go on to college, a respectable number for one of the ten largest school districts in the nation. But too many have dropped out too early, and therefore are not even in the college-going or job-getting games. As in our first Michigan report, it seems mandatory that every Head Start-eligible child in Michigan be included in a program, rather than the current 20 percent. The reason is clear: Head Start children graduate from high school far more often than control group children. The leadership on this issue shown by Governor Blanchard and Superintendent of Public Instruction Donald Bemis is very heartening, and it appears at this writing that the legislature may be forthcoming. The long term benefits from this investment will be at least $7 in later services (jails, drug counselling centers, unemployment centers) that will not be needed by the Head Start children during their lives, for every $1 in program costs. That *has* to be a "best buy" for taxpayers!

It seems likely that some interaction with neighboring school districts will be necessary to increase school achievement in Detroit, including downtown magnet schools, jointly funded by suburban and City budgets, open to students from that suburb as well as City students, plus a wide variety of other collaborative arrangements, could have some results. If poor black kids continue to attend schools populated with other poor black kids in very large classes without parental involvement, improving the management systems alone in Detroit Schools will have limited utility.

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# DETROIT—SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Representing 4/9ths of Michigan's population, the Detroit metro area has shown better job growth than the state or the nation from 1983-87. While the core city has lost population (173,000 from 1980-86), jobs have moved to the suburbs, and people have moved along with them, especially to Oakland, with smaller numbers to Macomb. Those who *cannot* move, however, are heavily poor, elderly and minority. The Renaissance Center is a splendid symbol of the *city's* development, but much of the action is suburban. The issue is complicated by the development of "edge cities" like Dearborn, increasingly independent of Detroit, and consisting of people who live *and work* in Dearborn, and go to downtown Detroit perhaps twice a year. In Oakland County, now bustling with new jobs, international corporate headquarters and banks, one fears that little or none of this affluence will benefit the City of Detroit. New economic developments with Canada *must* include activity that will benefit the City of Detroit.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- To understand Detroit Public Schools, we must compare Detroit with the other largest public school systems in the U.S.—New York, L.A. Unified, Chicago and Dade in Florida. (The otherwise excellent Select Committee Report of December 1988 is fatally flawed by comparing Detroit's schools, with 195,000 students in 1987 with Lansing's 24,000, allowing no comparisons with districts of Detroit's size and scope. Also, there are quality recommendations presented with no clue as to how they are to be attained.) As white and minority middle classes have fled to Oakland—Macomb, where the jobs have gone, demographic changes mandate a major look at Detroit's schools. This is an urgent task for the greater Detroit organizations that include city and suburb, for *both* are involved in the outcome.

- Wealthy suburban districts, which got that way because of Detroit, may have to give something back in the future. (Would there have been a Grosse Pointe if there were no Detroit?) This kind of collaboration could include cooperative magnet schools, located in Detroit, sponsored by several suburban districts, exchanging students and teachers around a common core of excellence; a "Michigan Scholars" program in Ann Arbor for talented students from Detroit schools to get them prepared for college by taking summer courses taught by University of Michigan faculty.

- A very small percentage of Detroit's minority citizens have "made it" to the suburbs, (Oakland is now in its first generation of black middle class residents) leaving inner city Detroit kids with few immediate examples of success, except for drug dealers. The author's data show Chicago and Detroit at the bottom of America's thirty largest cities in black suburbanization. The dilemma is whether to encourage more minorities to join the trek to the suburbs, or to provide opportunities to become middle class without leaving the city limits. (Columbus, Ohio, has a large black middle class living in the *city* of Columbus.) This issue needs to be decided soon by the state's leadership.

- Detroit's classes, now some of the largest in the state at 30 students in elementary, are full of poor children without adults at home who have succeeded educationally, *just the kinds of children who can benefit from small classes*. However, the cost of reducing classes of 30 students to 15 would be large. An alternative goal would be to provide some of the *benefits* of small classes without the crushing costs. Teacher aides, dividing classes into ability groups with a trained adult in charge of each one, continuous progress programs for each children in each subject area, mandated parent participation, teacher teams and improved teacher working conditions, are among hundreds of ways in which this objective could be carried out.

- Class size is *definitely* correlated with staying in school. (In fact, wealthy suburbs with well educated parents also have small classes.) Running all classes by all test scores and showing that class size doesn't produce high achievement simply shows the built-in fault of factor analysis. If you limit your interest to inner city children in poverty without educationally successful parents, there is no doubt that small classes (a) keep children in school and (b) increase academic achievement, the two major goals for education. There is also no doubt that accomplishing these two goals would do more to reduce Michigan's future prison expenditures than any other activity. *No one* in Michigan benefits, economically or socially, by having a young person drop out of a Detroit school.

# MICHIGAN—SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The days of Michigan's "Rust Bowl" are over. Although the economy and work force are still too dependent on auto manufacturing, the economy is diversifying into trade, distribution and financial and business services, as well as the boom in tourism and retirement homes. Most of the new jobs created are in small businesses with fewer than 50 workers. The new "common market" with Canada gives Michigan (and New York) new economic opportunities.

Michigan populations are very stable, with few in and out movements. However, there are major increases in youth in poverty and kids being raised by single parents. Michigan is one of the nine states in the U.S. that contain more than half of the population. In most of the nine—California, Texas, Florida, New York and New Jersey—minorities will comprise more than half of the school children by 2010, only 21 years away. Michigan's youth will be 29 percent minority in 2010. There is no Baby Boomlet in Michigan, and youth populations will not increase in the next decade.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- The current efforts to increase the number of prisoners in Michigan (a good short-term strategy) needs to be paralleled by a *long-term* commitment to lower the high school dropout rate, much too high in Michigan no matter whose figures you use. Prisoners are a little more likely to be high school dropouts than smokers are to develop lung cancer. With a high school diploma and skills, young people will be able to get a job and stay out of crime, usually the only way a dropout can "earn a living."

- The current increase in new jobs and small businesses is encouraging, and more can be done to increase these start-ups, especially for Michigan's minority citizens. In addition, the development of the "auto corridor" from Michigan to Tennessee along I-75 could mean some important gains for Detroit and Nashville as the two hubs, even if *manufacturing* shifts south. (It turns out that about half of the profit in car production is in the manufacturing side, the rest is "upstream" in services like insurance, business, financial and computer services, advertising, etc.) Detroit is upstream of Nashville.

- Youth poverty in Michigan is high, and increasing. Children feel the effects of the 1982 recession more than any other group in 1989. A special program needs to be established for the single women who are raising *26 percent* of Michigan's children, providing them with work skills they need. Second, the excellent leadership shown by Governor Blanchard and Superintendent Bemis on the establishment of Head Start-type programs for very young children in poverty is a model for the nation. Hopefully, legislation that will allow every eligible child to be in such a program will be enacted. (At this writing, having *two* proposals on the fall ballot is bad news.) In terms of money *saved* in later services that aren't needed by Head Start kids (jails and drug centers for starters) Head Start is a taxpayer's "best buy."

- Although Michigan's high school graduation rate is low (even using the Michigan Department of Education's numbers), the rate of college-going for those who *do* graduate is high, although minority participation is still low. Michigan needs more collaboration among those who care about "quality control" among youth—businesses, schools and colleges. City level compacts are proving useful in many communities, and more could be established in Michigan.

- With few inmigrants, Michigan faces a future of more retired auto workers and fewer families with very young children. Nationally, a large increase in small businesses that provide services for retired and elderly citizens (usually run by older people who understand elderly and their needs) is transforming the economic landscape. A "small business set-aside" program in Michigan to encourage this activity will pay long-term benefits.

- Michigan has a remarkable educational asset in the form of all the *components* of an interactive, statewide television network to deliver educational programs, kindergarten through graduate school, to virtually any Michigan citizen. The costs of integrating these components is very small, although some bureaucratic lines will have to be crossed. Such a network would have important benefits for sparsely populated regions of Michigan, both children and adults.